nude and bloody, was found in the middle of the grounds at daybreak, and there remained exposed until evening. All passed by it in silence and without a complaint.

There are many other such cases, for unfortunately executions on account of witchcraft are still frequent. It is said that in those times when Caru-Sacaebë lived among the Mundurucu, there existed no witchcraft and no sorcerers.

Indeed, the criminal code of the Mundurucu is based exclusively upon this.

There is no record of one Mundurucu ever being killed by another except on account of witchcraft. When violent hatred erupts between two Indians who inhabit the same village -- and this is extremely rare -- one of the two merely takes down his hammock, goes to some other village which attracts his fancy, chooses a place in the ehçá, and remains there as long as he pleases.

XVI

Social feelings among the Mundurucu -- The family -- The characteristic painting pattern of the tribe.

A remarkably strong social spirit, or indeed national spirit, binds the individual members and the villages of this tribe, preserving, if I may say so, the autonomy of the Mundurucu republic in a wilderness which lies beyond the contact and influence of our civilization. [112]

It is no cause for wonder that the Quechua of the Andes, herding as they did vast flocks of llama and alpaca and cultivating in large quantities the potato native to their mountains, should have founded great population centers and established a powerful monarchy. An agricultural and pastoral people, they possessed those elements necessary to live in the midst of plenty and to develop their intellectual and moral qualities under the stimulus of life in society.

726 distribute themselves in long lines and wait for the enemy to finish shooting his arrows. These arrows, in a display of great skill are caught in flight by the women who are stationed nearby, or the arrows are avoided by quick jumps. Only after this do they shoot their own arrows (which they do with great speed as they are handed them by their women) at a time when the enemy, fighting in closer ranks, has not much ammunition left. They attack only by day; and so they are attacked, by the equally war-like Araras, at night. In their permanent dwellings they protect themselves against this by a thoroughly military arrangement. In time of war all the men of military age sleep in a large, common hut distant from the women and
[634 they are guarded by patrols who signal with the toré (beni), a rasping
208] cane trumpet, or with the kiohoa, a whistle. With this instrument the commander, who remains behind the fighting men, during a battle, gives his orders usually by having signals blown by two of his adjutants [392] simultaneously from horns of different lengths. In battle the
727 Mundrucu gives no quarter. As soon as he has felled his enemy with arrow or javelin he takes him by the hair and cuts through his neck muscles and spine with a short cane knife, doing it so skillfully that the head is quickly severed from the body. A head so taken becomes the subject of the victor's most careful attentions. As soon as he is back with his comrades they kindle a great many fires over which the skull, cleaned of brains, muscle, eyes and tongue, is dried on pegs. Every day the skull is repeatedly washed with water, drenched with oil in which rocou has been dissolved and placed in the sun. When it is dried hard the skull is equipped with an artificial brain of dyed cotton, with eyes of resin and with teeth and decorated with a feather hood. This revolting trophy is carried about by the victor on a string. When he is in the communal hut, it is placed in the sun or in the smoke in the daytime and at night is put up by his hammock like a sentinal. Enemies captured in surprise attacks are not killed but taken into the tribe.

595 A man has several wives according to his power and importance. He puts up his hammock in the section of the communal hut apportioned to him near the hammock of the elder wife who, though not necessarily his favorite, is the mistress of his household and often even brings younger
● [578 women to him. Jealousy and quarrels are the result of this polygamy
846 which is more thoroughly developed here than in other tribes. Just like the old Tupis and the Caribs the men here lie for several weeks in the

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948
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796 In another dance the peccaries are pursued by hunters and their dogs.
535 The peccaries take refuge in a hole in the ground. The hunters then
324 simulate the construction of a trap by standing with legs astraddle to represent an alley of stakes; the peccaries try to escape between the lines of stakes and are killed by a hunter at the end of the alley.

796 An abbreviated description of a peccary festival is given by Strömer
224 (1932). This is a hunting ceremony in which the skulls of animals play a role. Sexual intercourse is performed ritually by the participants.
786 At one point in the ceremony, the performers dance on a heap of peccary hair while they sing an invocation of success in peccary hunting.

At a special men's festival in honor of the sib ancestors the sacred
796 trumpets are blown. At the conclusion of the ceremony, a special bev-
614 erage is poured through the trumpet into a cup and drunk by the participants. The ceremony, performed by men alone since women are not permitted to see the trumpets, is said to propitiate the sib ancestors and to obtain their good will toward their descendants.

At the tree festival a tree is set up in the center of the dwelling house;
[776] the participants stand around it while the shaman smokes tobacco and invokes on the house the protection of Karusakaibö, the creator god.

SHAMANISM AND SORCERY

754 The shaman determines the most favorable time for war parties, exorcises evil spirits, takes a leading part in ceremonies, cures the sick, detects sorcerers, and intervenes to terminate eclipses of the sun. Illness is believed to be caused by the intrusion of a worm into the patient's body, or by sorcery. The shaman cures the intrusion by blowing smoke on the patient's body and sucking out the worm. When many deaths or much
[683] sickness occur the malevolence of a sorcerer is suspected; the shaman detects the sorcerer and informs the chief of his identity. The chief appoints two warriors to follow the sorcerer until they have a favorable opportunity to kill him. Some hints as to the technique of sorcery are given in Strömer's vocabulary. He records the word, yamain, meaning "to cut off the head and set it back again," and the word, yakut, "hole in the earth in which to bury the head"—both with reference to the practice of sorcery.

Sorcery is said to be virtually the sole cause of homicide among the
[684] *Mundurucú*. Adultery is punished by the expulsion of the guilty persons.
[578] When two men become antagonistic, one of them takes his hammock and goes to live in the men's house of another village.

MYTHOLOGY

776 The creator god and culture hero of *Mundurucú* mythology is Karusa-
773 kaibö (Caru-Sacaibé (Tocantins, 1877)); Karusakaibe (Kruse, 1934);

fish both and later water and firewood as a group. The latter three activities hardly demanded cooperation, but are illustrative of the fundamental division of the society on the basis of sex and of the love for sociability of the Mundurucú. The Mundurucú liked to do things together and it was a grave breach of etiquette to refuse to help in any work.

It will be noted that the village was the basic unit within which cooperation was carried out, while the extended family was of almost equal importance. Seldom did economic activities involve two or more villages. A man and wife occasionally left the village together for a few hours to plant or harvest vegetables or to gather fruits, but these occasions were of minor importance in the economy.*

Accompanying this emphasis on cooperation in the economy was a corresponding complete lack of stress on competition. Competitive economic activity was absolutely nonexistent. A lazy person lacked prestige but in this instance it was because a lazy person was a drain on the society. Prestige was sought through accomplishments in warfare and knowledge of Mundurucú lore and not by economic means. Indeed, the Mundurucú did not openly seek to better anybody even in play with the exception of one strength test game, consisting of an attempt by each of two opponents to force back the forearm of the other, indulged in by the young people. In their speech the Mundurucú did not compare people

* It should be pointed out here that these conjugal excursions are generally viewed by the Mundurucú as guises to leave the village for the true purpose of daytime sexual intercourse. Their suspicions are well founded.

The Munduruc\u00fa are clearly distinguishable by their speech, which is, despite its Tupian affiliation, mutually unintelligible with the language of their Tupian neighbors and with the *lingua geral*. However, their most outstanding outward characteristic is the elaborate body and face painting which is the hallmark of all members of the tribe.

The chief multi-village endeavor was warfare. Warfare always was waged against other tribes and never between Munduruc\u00fa villages. The idea of violence between two Munduruc\u00fa individuals or groups is abhorrent to this people. Internecine warfare would be unthinkable. We will discuss Munduruc\u00fa warfare in more detail further in this paper, but it suffices to say here that when a war party was being organized, usually by the chief of one village, invitations to join in the expedition were also sent to several other villages. The fully organized group was led by two of the chiefs of the villages participating. These were men distinguished for their accomplishments in war and were nearly always older men. The other chiefs of the participant villages had a large role in the plan of action, as did all older men, but the position of the two leaders was recognized. Inter-village cooperation was the secret of Munduruc\u00fa prowess, as they defeated and scattered every tribe in the region and launched large war parties against the Portuguese fortresses of Santarém and Gurupá[10] and ranged as far east as the territory of the Tembé Indians on the east side of the Tocantins

10. Norton, 1948, p. 273.

status of the village and was kept at a minimum within the family. The forceful and dominant personality was definitely discouraged and, while respect was sought through warrior status and deep knowledge of Mundurucú lore, songs, and legends, nobody wished prestige as a mechanism to exert authority over others. It was assumed that the chief and the old men would express their opinions quietly and calmly and that the others would heed their council. However, a younger but respected man was also able to express himself to some effect. Controls were not rigid but they were sufficient to the needs of the culture. Cooperation was basic to the Mundurucú economy and the people were trained to it from an early age. There was an elaborate division of labor to be organized and interrelated to make a functional unit. The tasks performed for subsistence were the same that the Mundurucú had done for many generations and they were done in the same way. A solitary worker needs no directing hand nor does a group of people who are used to working as a unit. The economy did not call for elaborate political controls and the social organization certainly did not.

Disputes within the society were repressed. The average Mundurucú village contained its share of ill feeling and hostility, but the high interpersonal dependency made it expedient to suppress aggression. Thus, the most important functions of the village chief were to lead war parties, to provide at least a small degree of central orientation to the village and to symbolize the identity of the village as an autonomous unit with continuity in past and future.

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
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175 Tapajós to have established a continuing and peaceful relationship with the whites without the destructive traumata which so frequently accompany acculturation. Certain far reaching changes in social structure had taken place, but the tribe maintained its autonomy and physical isolation. The manioc trade had caused an expansion in agricultural production, and warfare was pursued with the mixed motivations of material reward and the taking of trophy heads, the aboriginal rationale for Mundurucú warfare.

56 [16] At this time there were at least twenty Mundurucú villages, having a total population of approximately 3000. The communities were located in the middle of high savannah country, secure from surprise attacks and free of the insects and diseases of the larger, navigable streams. Paths radiated out from each village to the streams, gardens, hunting trails, and to other villages. In this setting, the people led a secure existence. Their location and reputation for ferocity protected them from attack, and the dependable supply of game, fish, garden products, and wild vegetables and fruits gave them security from hunger.

TRIBAL INTEGRATION

69 The many villages of the Mundurucú were politically autonomous but were linked by a series of institutions and culture patterns into a socio-cultural whole. The Mundurucú felt themselves to be a unitary group, and village membership was of less importance in self-identification than was membership in the non-localized clan or the feeling of being one of the "people," as they called themselves. A primary dichotomy in the Mundurucú world view was the separation of humanity into "people" and "outlanders." "Outlanders," with the exception of the whites and the Apiacá Indians, were beings with whom the "people" could have only hostile relationships. This provided the justification for the systematic destruction and dispersal of neighboring tribes by Mundurucú war parties. Tribal membership, however, was a sociological and not a genetic concept. Male and female "outlanders" were killed and decapitated, but their children were taken captive and brought back to the Mundurucú villages. There they were adopted by their captors and given the elaborate body and head tattooing which was the external symbol of identity with the ingroup. The statuses and roles of captives were no different than those of any other Mundurucú.

57§ While unrelenting hostility and violence characterized the Mundurucú attitude towards the *outside* world, the reverse was true of intragroup relations. Conflict between villages was unheard of, and interpersonal aggressions were suppressed. This emphasis upon harmony and noncompetitiveness had a strong functional interrelationship with the socio-economic structure of the villages, in which co-operative production and collectivized consumption were basic.

72 47 182 Although different villages did not co-operate in the subsistence economy, warfare and ceremony involved intercommunity organization and participation. Since most statements of function involve a relation of mutual interdependence, it would not beg the question to say that intervillage war parties

1 [i.e. The middle of the nineteenth century.—Analyst]

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women who were grating the raw tubers. Another party of women would be occupied in fetching fresh tubers from the garden. Tasks were rotated frequently. The requisite co-ordination and co-operation was facilitated by the bonds of enduring consanguinity and relationship in the female line between the women of the household.

Just as property in land was of little importance due to the practice of shifting horticulture on unlimited forest land, ownership of the houses was an amorphous concept since the village was abandoned and a new one built every ten years. When the new village was built, everyone joined in building each other's houses. My male informants commonly referred to the dwelling as the property of the husband of the oldest woman of the house, while the women referred to the latter as the owner. When questioned closely, however, the men conceded that perhaps the oldest woman owned the house. Under either possibility, ownership *per se* was unimportant. The work of the household was generally directed by the oldest woman, and her husband enjoyed some prestige as its nominal leader. His exact functions were ill-defined, except for the exertion of influence over the women and his sons-in-law, since the men of the household did not normally operate as a co-operative group and the women went about their tasks without male direction. The controls of the house leader were informal and indirect. He owed his prestige position chiefly to age.

There is an obvious conflict between the patrilineal inheritance of the chieftaincy and matrilocal residence. This was resolved quite simply by allowing the sons of the chief to remain patrilocal and thereby provide a continuity of residence and political control. When a younger brother or son of the former chief inherited the position, he became chief of a village in which he had been born and in which his ancestors in the male line had been born and died. The term for chief, *axypokobat*, can be literally translated as "the owner of the village," and informants rationalized the position and title of the chief as being due to the fact that one of his lineal ancestors had first established the village. The lineal continuity of village leadership preserved integration in one respect, while weakening it in another.

An immediate consequence of the ambivalence in postmarital residence patterns was that the chief's extended family constituted a true lineage and was further augmented by the normal pattern of matrilocality through which he acquired sons-in-law. Furthermore, polygynous unions were generally a prerogative of the chief. The chief's household tended to be larger than any other in the village, and, due to the consanguineal ties of its male members, it was also the most cohesive. There is no doubt that the power of the chief was thereby considerably reinforced. During my period of residence in a Munduruc village having substantially this structure, it was noted that there was a rather high degree of latent antagonism between the men of the chief's family and the other men of the village. The former constituted a definite ingroup within the village, which conflicted with the patterns of co-operation and egalitarianism, and which, while supporting political controls, was dysfunctional in terms of the total structure. It was not coincidental that conflict over sorcery most often revolved around the family of the chief.

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tional submissive activities, it placed severe inhibitions upon the extensive warfare formerly customary.

Warfare did not end until about 1912, over a century after the Mundurucú had made peace with the whites. During this time certain internal modifications had occurred in the social structure, but social cohesion had remained intact and the boundaries of the society were still sharply defined and vigorously maintained. Although members were lost to Brazilian society, a hard core of population living near the upper Tapajós River made war upon other Indian groups with energy and success. This was not "aboriginal" warfare; it was frequently waged on behalf of the whites and with firearms supplied by them. But the only information on Mundurucú warfare of any value pertains to the 19th century and was derived from older informants and published sources. This, then, is the proper time dimension of our study, and we turn now to a consideration of the relevant aspects of Mundurucú culture during this period.

The Mundurucú villages were located in the midst of grass-covered mountains surrounded by dense forest, but their subsistence economy was essentially the same as other groups of the Amazon rain forest. Hunting was important throughout the year, and fishing was primarily a dry season activity. Garden crops included the usual range of Tropical Forest vegetables and fruits, and bitter manioc was the staple product. Manioc flour, known as *farinha* in Brazil, was also traded to the whites by the Mundurucú and constituted their most important commercial commodity in the period prior to the rubber boom.

The division of labor and the organization of work reflected certain basic aspects of Mundurucú social structure. The men hunted and fished and carried out the strenuous task of garden clearing, while the women did the rest of the horticultural work and tended the households. Residence was matrilocal, and the females of each house formed a nucleus of matrilineally related kinswomen; each such household was also a communal work and consumption unit. Each Mundurucú village had about three to five such houses and a men's house; the latter was the locus of male activity, for all the village men slept, ate, worked, and relaxed within its confines.

The membership of the men's house was eclectic in relation to descent. The Mundurucú were divided into more than forty patrilineal clans, linked by loose and unnamed phratric affiliations, and parcelled almost equally between patrilineal, exogamous moieties. But the matrilocal residence rule and the resultant shift of men from their natal households and, commonly, villages continually blocked the formation of co-resident descent groups.

Despite the diversity of their local and lineal origins, the men of a village, and ultimately of the whole tribe, were expected to maintain harmonious and cooperative relations. Cooperation in economic activities transcended the minimal necessities of their ecological adaptation, and any open show of aggression between men was strictly prohibited. The men's house provided the organizational framework within which this unity was expressed, while male

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values were supernaturally reinforced by their possession of the sacred trumpets, or *karoko*. Each village maintained a set of three of these instruments, and they were absolutely taboo to the eyes of the women, who were thought to have once owned them.

Political controls were not elaborate. Each village had a *chief*, whose position was bolstered by the fact that his sons were generally exempt from the matrilocal residence rule. Although there were no patterns of continuous supravillage leadership, relations between communities were very close and involved intermarriage and joint participation in ceremonies and warfare. Tribal feeling was highly developed and conflict between villages was usually absent.

THE CONDUCT OF WARFARE

Mundurucú warfare was distinguished by a complete lack of any defensive psychology, and the Mundurucú looked upon themselves as aggressors and victors. They have been described as " . . . one of the most valorous and feared [tribes] of all the hinterland of Amazonia" (Almeida Serra 1869:4), while, on the other hand, the French explorer Henri Coudreau (1897:142) wrote in righteous indignation that, "The Mundurucú practice neither justice, nor duel, nor warfare, but only assassination." This harsh judgment seems not to fit the people who extended my wife and me kindness and hospitality, and who were invariably soft-spoken, humorous, and gentle. But these same gentle people spoke at length and with great animation of their former prowess as warriors, and of expeditions against other tribes in which the enemy men and women were killed and decapitated and their children stolen. Nothing about their own culture interested the Mundurucú as much as the extinct but still remembered patterns of warfare, and the older men were zealous informants on that subject.

The human world was seen by the Mundurucú to consist of two distinct spheres; there were "people" or Mundurucú, and *pariwat*, a term referring to any non-Mundurucú human. With the exception of the neighboring Apiacá Indians and the white men, all pariwat were enemies. An enemy was not merely a person to be guarded against but was a proper object of attack, and the Mundurucú pursued this end with extraordinary vigor and stamina. Before 1795 they attacked Santarém and ranged near the mouth of the Amazon to strike the fort of Gurupá. Hartt (1885:116) stated that Mundurucú war parties had penetrated into the eastern part of the province of Maranhão, where they were beaten back by "Apinagés."[5] Tocantins (1877:98) claimed that the Mundurucú knew the city of Cuyabá in Mato Grosso, and informants told of raids as far as the upper waters of the Jurueña, São Manoel, and Madeira Rivers. These expeditions apparently carried the warriors over 500 miles from home and must have involved trips of well over 1,000 miles. And the Mundurucú traveled solely by foot; bark canoes were made and used only for the purpose of crossing large streams. These were exceptional journeys, but

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ahead to the men's house and displayed the prizes to the elder men and told them who had taken each. The warriors and their accompanying women then entered the village, and each delivered his captive children to the care of his wife and went to the men's house, where the trophy heads were returned to their owners.

Although the waiting members of the community showed joy at the return of the war party, especially if it had been successful, mourning was in order for those who had fallen in the fray. Among the Munduruci, each clan recognizes certain other clans of the opposite moiety as their *ibuiwatitn*, or people who have the responsibility of burying the dead of the clan. This function is looked upon as more than a duty; mourners are conceived as ritually hostile bodies, and the *ibuiwatitn* consider it a pleasure to bury the dead of the complementary clan. When the whole body is not available, it is considered necessary to the maintenance of proper relations between mourners that some part of the dead be buried. Since it was not expedient to bring the dead back to Munduruci territory for interment, it was customary for a member of a slain warrior's *ibuiwatitn* to sever his humerus and return it for the mortuary rites. This practice was said to have been followed also in the cases of men who were too severely wounded to continue the homeward journey; needless to say, they died shortly thereafter. When it was impossible to retrieve the humerus of the dead, a piece of arrow cane was cut to simulate the bone.

The *ibuiwatitn* member who had brought the arm bone of the dead back to the village would place it in a basket in his wife's dwelling and keep it there for about a month. People from other villages were invited to attend the burial, and on this occasion other members of the deceased's *ibuiwatitn* engaged in ritual dispute for the honor of burying the bone. The humerus was always retained by the man who had secured it, and it was buried in the floor of his house.

Thus far we have discussed the roles of war leaders, the Muchacha society, the shaman, and the *ibuiwatitn* of the fallen warrior, but other social statuses connected with warfare became activated after the return of the expedition. A wounded warrior was treated as if dead for one year after the hostilities; he had no sexual relations, his hair was allowed to grow long, and the use of his name was tabooed during that period.

The most important status was that of a taker of a trophy head, who was referred to as *Dajebuiki*. Literally, the title means "mother of the peccary," an allusion to the Munduruci view of other tribes as being equivalent to game animals. The "mother" part of the term is derived from the trophy head's power to attract game and to cause their numerical increase, and the head-hunter was so titled because of his obvious fertility promoting function; paradoxically for such a seemingly masculine status, he symbolically filled a female role.

The trophy head was believed to exert a powerful charm over the spirit protectors of the animal world and thus improved the supply and availability of game. Each time that the men of the village went hunting, the Dajebuiki

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within the structure of the society. We must explain the function of warfare, or the social conditions that caused the Mundurucú to direct enormous hostility against an amorphously inimical outside world.

As a first step toward answering this question, we turn briefly to a re-examination of Mundurucú military organization. Leaving out of consideration for the moment the bellicosity of the Mundurucú, the single factor that contributed most to the success of their arms was the tribal organization of war parties. The recruitment of men from a number of communities aggrandized their expeditions while leaving unimpaired the economic and defensive functions of the villages. Tribalism was also central to the ceremonies that were held at the conclusion of a war. On these occasions the tribal warrior society, or Dacebã, gathered to celebrate the prowess of Mundurucú arms, and the widely scattered members of certain clans assembled to exercise their prerogative of attaching particular decorations to the trophy heads.

Intercommunity cooperation in warfare was facilitated by the peculiar juxtaposition of matrilocal residence and patrilineal descent. The male Mundurucú population was thereby linked by cross-cutting ties of residential affinity and affiliation by descent. For example, any Mundurucú man was a member of his own village, in most cases a native of another village, and in several instances a former resident of the village of a divorced wife; he was also linked by ties of patrilineal descent to all the villages in which members of his clan resided. On the other hand, he was not involved in any cohesive and localized lineage unit. The kinship structure imposed no boundaries upon the local group; the male social world was the tribe.

The manner in which bonds were extended throughout the tribe necessitated certain social adjustments. The residence rule destroyed the residential basis of patrilineality and thereby weakened clanship. Correspondingly, the only enduring group of coresident, consanguineal kinsmen was the extended family of women related in the female line. Such aggregates of females posed a threat to the superordinate position of the men which was resolved through several means, one of the most important of which was residence in the men's house. This unit freed the male from the necessity of becoming integrated into the economy and authority structure of his wife's household in villages in which he had no supporting group of kinsmen. Although he owed respect and some service to his father-in-law, the locus of his social and economic life was the men's house; this provided the framework within which a group of men from diverse villages was welded into a highly unitary working and fighting unit. Their position as a militant and self-conscious social entity, demarcated from and superior to the women, was reinforced by the cult of the sacred musical instruments. Thus male solidarity was promoted on a tribal level through the dispersal of patrilineal kinsmen, and on the village level through the men's house.

The organization of 19th-century Mundurucú society made male solidarity on the village and tribal level not only possible but a functional necessity. Conflict had to be rigorously suppressed, for if men became arrayed in overt

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violence along lines of residential affinity, it would pit patrilineal kin against each other and destroy the very fabric of the kinship structure. And if the combatants aligned themselves according to kinship affiliations, strife could break out within villages and even within households. The Munduruci situation is opposite that found in some segmentary societies, in which, following Fortes' (1945: 240-47 analysis, strife between kinship-territorial units of similar scope is actually productive of social equilibrium.

The necessity for suppressing overt conflict as the only alternative to serious disruptions of social relations was complemented by the necessity for male cohesion and unity in villages whose hereditary inhabitants were the women. As a result, Munduruci ethical values enjoined absolute harmony and cooperation upon all the males of the tribe. No such loving was expected in intermale relations. The female ingroup was limited to the membership of one or two extended families, beyond these limits, open jealousy and fighting could and did occur. This dichotomy in ethical values is understandable when one considers how different were the male and female social contexts.

Interpersonal and intergroup grievances will arise in all human societies as a necessary concomitant of social life, and the Munduruci are no exception to this rule. Despite the surface tranquility of interpersonal relations among the males, numerous causes of latent antagonism existed. One potentially disruptive factor of especial significance to the problem at hand was that patrilineal succession to the chieftaincy was assured by exempting the chief's sons from the matrilocal rule. The extended family of the chief thus became the largest and most cohesive such unit in the village, for it retained sons while gathering sons-in-law. The presence of his own patrilineal kinsmen reinforced the chief's position, but it also resulted in antagonism and resentment on the part of the other men of the village, over whom he exerted no lineage-based authority. Evidence to support this statement can be found in contemporary Munduruci society in a number of cases of sorcery accusation and punishment. In one village the chief and his son were both slain as suspected witches. In another, the family of the chief wished to execute an accused sorcerer against the will of the other residents, and in a third village the family of the chief protected one of their number against the intention of the other villagers to execute him. No evidence of such tensions would have been manifest to the casual observer in any of the three villages; the disaffected parties usually maintain cordial and cooperative relations with their antagonists both before and after the climax of the train of events, but they generally move from the village as soon as convenient. These conflicts, then, are instrumental in furthering the fragmentation of villages under the current conditions of pacification.

Given the potentially centrifugal nature of leadership, descent, and residence, warfare functioned to preserve, or at least prolong, the cohesiveness of Munduruci society. The chief was able to maintain his leadership over his lineally eclectic group of followers through his position as war leader and his complementary role as mediator between them and Brazilian society. To the

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Munduruci there are the essential functions of chieftainship, and contemporary informants commonly ascribe the decline of nucleated village life to the disappearance of such attributes of leadership.

Of even greater importance to the integration of Munduruci society, warfare activated and intensified male unity and values, both of which functioned to make matrilocality viable. Finally, the only permissible intrasocietal mechanism for the release of aggression was sorcery and the killing of sorcerers, and the previously cited cases indicate that they created as many tensions as they resolved. Actually, the only way in which hostility could be unleashed without damage to the society was against the outside world. Paradoxically for a people who considered all the world as its enemy, the true cause of enmity came from within their own society.

Much of the preceding argument has hinged upon the matrilocal and patrilineal character of Munduruci society. In a recent article I showed that Munduruci social structure in the 19th century could only be understood as a result of post-contact change and that the aboriginal society was organized on patrilocal and patrilineal lines (Murphy 1956). The fact that the Munduruci were vigorous warriors before their shift to matrilocality suggests that warfare acquired new functions subsequent to that change and consequent upon it. These new functions, as they have been outlined in this paper, provide us with an understanding of how Munduruci society remained cohesive and maintained its boundaries through more than a century of contact with the whites.

We will now broaden our analysis of the function of warfare within Munduruci society to the closely related problem of its function within the structure of Munduruci-Brazilian relationships. The two bases of this symbiosis were trade and war. Matrilocality evolved as a result of trade relations with the whites, but it was workable in a patrilineal society only when intrasocietal hostilities were repressed and latent antagonisms channeled into intense warfare. Warfare and the connected ceremonies also helped to perpetuate the system of clanship in this newly-evolved type of society, for they constituted almost the only occasions upon which corporate functions of the fragmented descent groups were exercised. Conversely, matrilocality and patrilineality provided the structure for warfare on a tribal scale and thus enabled the Munduruci successfully to pursue hostilities against comparatively undisrupted tribes during a period when their own numbers were being reduced through disease and emigration to Brazilian settlements. And by frequently undertaking raids in the service of the whites, the Munduruci had solidified their peaceful relationship with the technologically and numerically superior society. The Brazilians were willing to respect the autonomy of the Munduruci as long as it was useful to them. We may conclude that the system of of matrilocality and patrilineality and the institution of warfare were mutually reinforcing and served to maintain Munduruci society during a period that witnessed the disappearance or dissolution of many of their neighbors.

7: Murphy E-9 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

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CONCLUSION

Our analysis of the functions of Mundurucú warfare has concluded that the institution operated to preserve the integration and solidarity of Mundurucú society. These findings accord closely with Simmel's theory of conflict and are also substantiated by Fernandes' (1952:354) conclusions on the functions of Tupinamba warfare. The means by which this social end was accomplished can be viewed as a variable of the Mundurucú type of society. The latter was of a unique order; it was structured so as to ramify kinship bonds throughout the tribe, but it was extremely vulnerable to any open display of aggression within the group. This, and the ambivalent position of the men, resulted in the suppression of hostility and the emphasis upon solidarity that characterized male social relations. Such solidarity could be maintained only through the release of latent aggression in a socially valued manner upon surrogate objects. Mundurucú warfare thus corresponds to Coser's (1951:46) formulation of the "safety valve" mechanism in society:

> Social systems provide for specific institutions which serve to drain off hostile and aggressive sentiments. These safety valve institutions help to maintain the system by preventing otherwise probable conflict or by reducing its disruptive effects. They provide substitute objects upon which to displace hostile sentiments, as well as means of alleviation. Through these safety valves, hostility is prevented from turning against its original object.

The achievement of specific ends or the defeat of a particular enemy were secondary considerations in Mundurucú warfare. They fought any group and they fought for the sake of fighting. The ultimate source of their bellicosity was the repressed hostility generated within the society, and the ultimate source of repression was the potential destructiveness of intrasocietal aggression.

Safety valve institutions of one kind or another are probably universal in culture. Coser (*Ibid*:41) distinguishes two means by which aggressiveness may safely be released by the members of a society. These are:

> . . . Ventilation, which provide a socially sanctioned framework for carrying out conflict without leading to consequences that disrupt relations within a group, and those safety-valve institutions which serve to divert hostility onto substitute objects or which function as channels for cathartic release.

Mundurucú warfare and sorcery fall into the class of "safety-valve institutions"; the structure of the society is such that Ventilsitten would be impossible insofar as the Mundurucú cannot publicly acknowledge the existence of intrasocietal hostilities. The institutionalized public arguments and wrestling matches of the Trumai Indians (Murphy and Quain 1955:57-59) and the spear throwing bouts between Upper Xingú tribes (Galvão 1950:366) are illustrations of cases in which hostility is allowed to appear in a controlled and sanctioned context and is thereby dissipated. Sides are drawn and the issue is resolved among the Upper Xingú groups; the Mundurucú cannot even afford to take sides openly.

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13)

Coser (1956:150-7) has considered the relationship between conflict and the rigidity of the social structure, which he defines as "the degree to which it disallows direct expression of antagonistic claims," and concludes:

> Our hypothesis, that the need for safety-valve institutions increases with the rigidity of the social system, may be extended to suggest that unrealistic [i.e. cathartic and not oriented toward the frustrating object] conflict may be expected to occur as a consequence of rigidity present in the social structure.

Munduruku warfare was clearly "unrealistic" and the social structure was rigid in Coser's sense. It is possible to broaden our example to include a larger category of rigid social structures and to consider their functional concomitants. I would propose as a statistically testable hypothesis that matrilocal societies must disperse open aggression in order to insure cohesion and continuity. If we take any matrilocal and matrilineal or bilateral society as our model, the system of residence tends to disperse males at least throughout the local community. Thus, any male will have close ties of kinship and economic interdependence with his housemates, his natal household, the households of his maternal uncles, and the households of his brothers. The same is true of patrilocal societies from the viewpoint of the women, but males are the principal political role-players in all human societies. Any conflict involving men therefore becomes a matter of deep community concern. As among the Munduruku, if the lines of allegiance in a conflict situation are drawn according to kinship in any matrilocal society, bonds of local contiguity will be rendered, if primary loyalty is given to bonds of residence, the ties of kinship will be broken. In short, when the residence and kin groups of the male do not coincide, he acquires multiple commitments that may come into conflict. Also, the individual male will more readily repress his grievances if he cannot rely upon the full support of a solidary group.

Brief reference to the ethnographic literature suggests that the social solidarity of matrilocal groups is not restricted to my model. Writing of the Apinayé, Nimuendajú (1939:129) says:

> I have never heard of a case of rape nor witnessed anything of publicly scandalous adultery, larceny, or slander. Only when intoxicated do these natives inflict damage on property and bodily maltreatment on persons or commit manslaughter. Compared with any Šerente settlement the village of Bacaba, at least, is a model of internal peace and harmony, and this would hold for Gato Preto, too, in the absence of alcohol.

The Šerente and the Apinayé are Gê-speaking groups of eastern Brazil and are culturally quite similar. The principal difference between them is that the fractious Šerente are patrilineal and patrilocal, while the harmonious Apinayé are matrilineal and matrilocal. Turning to North America, we have the classical example of the matrilocal and "Apollonian" Pueblosans. Ellis (1951:199) has noted of Pueblo warfare:

> Beyond protection, warfare served to provide legitimate outlet for the frustrations and aggressions arising from unpermitted competition or suspicions thereof among peoples of the same general culture.

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The repression of open conflict among the Pueblo Indians accounts for the latent hostility that many ethnologists have seen seething below surface relations. Under modern conditions this often results in community fission, and the same process can be noted among the contemporary, non-warring Mundurucú. Lacking adequate safety-valves for the release of aggression, the Mundurucú now tend to withdraw from the frustrating situation.

Not all matrilocal groups repress aggression to the same extent as do the Mundurucú, nor are they as warlike. The greater emphasis of the Mundurucú upon social cohesion and external aggression stems from the persistence of patrilineal clans in a matrilocal society. This factor, combined with inter-village matrilocality, made hostility even more explosive and internal release systems less workable. It oriented the group toward warfare and provided the organization for its effective pursuit. Some deviation from our model is expectable, for there is no fixed and unvarying reservoir of aggression in society; it has its roots in the social structure, as does its expression. Our thesis states only that matrilocal societies must repress the open expression of intrasocietal conflict and that this repressed hostility, variable in intensity, will be released through acceptable and nondisruptive means within the society, or through warfare, or through both. But warfare, it can be concluded, is an especially effective means of promoting social cohesion in that it provides an occasion upon which the members of the society unite and submerge their factional differences in the vigorous pursuit of a common purpose.

NOTES

[1] The field research upon which this article is based was conducted by my wife and me during 1952–53, and was supported by a Research Training Fellowship, granted by the Social Science Research Council, and the William Bayard Cutting Traveling Fellowship, awarded through the Trustees of Columbia University. Grateful acknowledgment is made to these institutions.

The present article was read in manuscript by David M. Schneider and profited greatly from his suggestions.

[2] This seemingly incredible series was still remembered by the Urubú Indians of the upper Gurupí River in the state of Maranhão, according to a personal communication from the Brazilian ethnologist, Dr. Darcy Ribeiro.

[3] A fuller description of the ceremonies held subsequent to a successful raid will be published in a forthcoming monograph (Murphy n.d.).

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[illegible] also gather large quantities of sarsaparilla, India-rubber and Tonka beans in the forests. The traders on their arrival at the Campinas [the semi-civilized region inhabited by the main body of Mundurucus beyond the cataracts] have first to distribute their wares--cheap cotton cloths, iron hatchets, cutlery, small wares, and cartasas--amongst the minor chiefs, and then wait three or four months for repayment in produce". [1869, pp. 245-246]

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When rubber became the major product of Amazonia the same pattern of trade was perpetuated among the Mundurucú. All of the rubber collected was turned over to the chief, who alone negotiated directly with the trader. The merchandise given for the rubber was, insofar as could be ascertained through contemporary informants, equitably distributed to each man in proportion to the rubber he had produced. But since chiefs were commonly more prosperous than other men, it can be assumed that they did not suffer in their role of middleman. The share taken by the chief, however, was never so great as to result in truly significant wealth differences. In fact, the traders usually engaged to keep the Indians in debt, and this debt was charged against the chief as the representative of the village. Tocantins, who visited the Mundurucú in 1875, published a bill presented to one chief [Tocantins, p. 134]. If this bill is typical, the Indians' indebtedness was frequently very heavy. These debts were used to force the chief to extract greater production from his followers.

As the Mundurucú depended increasingly upon trade, the chief became more subordinate economically to the trader, who manipulated him accordingly. The trader eventually was able to appoint "chiefs" to carry on the trade. An appointed chief was usually known as the capitão, or "captain", as distinguished from the hereditary village chief, who was called apoiquemuat or ipharogmo. By using the "captains" as local trade representatives, the traders were able to increase their control over the villages. At the same time, by robbing the hereditary chiefs of their trade function, they weakened the entire structure of leadership. In time, the capitão displaced the hereditary chief almost entirely. To increase the prestige of the trader-appointed chief, the trader often took his protege on his annual trip to buy supplies in Belem, where the chief's position was confirmed by the governor or some other official.

The Mundurucú dependency upon trade at first evidently increased the peacetime authority of the hereditary chief, for the villagers relied upon him to promote and secure their best interests in trading activities. The appointment of capitães undermined the native chief, and initially increased the trader's control over the village. The people became confused, however, as to whether the capitão or the apoiquemuat should be regarded as "chief". Ill feeling towards and suspicion of the appointed chiefs began to develop, for the Indians were always aware of, although powerless to cope with, the sharp practices of the traders, and they usually assigned the capitão a share of the blame. Upon the latter fell the onerous task of goading the people to harder work in the rubber avenues. Since most Mundurucú do not even today consider rubber collecting a respectful occupation, the role of the capitão must have done little to increase his popularity. During the field research among the Munduruçú, the young, bilingual trader-appointed "chief" of the village of Cabitutú was in danger of losing his life. Distrust of the trader, whom the "chief" represented, was centered upon this young man and threatened his position so greatly that he was on the verge of flight.

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In later years, as will be described subsequently, individual Munduruçú Indians have tended increasingly to deal with the trader directly rather than through the "chief". For this reason, village political organization has been effectively shattered.

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The white-appointed Munduruçú "chief", unlike his Northeastern Algonkian counterpart, mediated trade relations between a group of followers and the

8: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956
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to the disorganization of [illegible] Xingu society. The political authority of specialized "chiefs" was only a means of extending the influence of the whites. The continuing migration of young men from the remaining primitive villages of the uncontacted caused an overcrowding of men on the Upper Xingu, and conflicts over women became rife. Owing to the endless squabbles in villages which had lost their aboriginal basis of integration, dissidents moved off to live at their rubber estates or forest huts and smaller villages. This fission process is still going on. Concomitantly, the Mission and the Indian Post are becoming more important as focal points in a new mode of integration of the Nambicuara. Over one-third of the Upper Xingu population make their relay station there at these agencies, which serve as centers of trade and of social and religious gatherings. It is from the Post and Mission, also, that the lines of authority now radiate.

IV. Comparative Summary

The accompanying table and chart present the major phases of acculturation in summary form, as abstracted from the historical sections. The basic acculturative factors in both cases exerted parallel influences, although the two societies were substantially different until the final culmination was reached. There were four causal factors common to each. First, both became involved in a monopolic, barter economy in which the collector of wild products was tied by bonds of debt and credit to particular merchants. Such involvement also occurred widely among native peoples who produced crops or livestock. This arrangement must be distinguished from cash transactions, in which, owing to the impersonality of money as a medium of exchange, the primary producer has greater freedom of choice as to with whom he will deal. In a pure credit-barter economy, all transactions are based on a personal relationship between the principals; the merchant must be able to rely upon the continued patronage of the primary producer whereby the latter liquidates past debts while assuming new ones. It seems to be a basic procedure that the pre-literate Indian is kept in debt by the trader. While the latter can manipulate accounts at will, and no doubt is frequently guilty of malfeasance, he usually allows the Indian to buy beyond his means. The debtor-producer is selling his future production, and the creditor will not extend payment unless assured of delivery. Where such an economy is found, it is common for merchants to refuse to deal with primary producers who are in debt to another merchant. This is a "gentleman's agreement" in the Amazon, although it is frequently violated by unscrupulous traders. Second, the growing [illegible] of dependency upon the traders are at the expense of collective bonds within the respective societies. Reliance upon individuals and institutions outside the native social system are intensified by a steady increase in demand and need for manufactured goods. This, as we have seen, goes beyond the mere initial allure of Western tools and ornaments. Luxuries soon became necessities--a process that can be found in our own culture. Third, while crude latex and animal furs are very unlike articles, they imply a common cultural-ecological adaptation. Both are natural products having a reliable occurrence in worthwhile quantity within an area which can be most efficiently exploited by one man. Both require conservation, for careless exploitation can seriously reduce the number of furbearing animals, or render rubber trees worthless. The producer has an incentive to maintain the productivity of his resources. Finally, both rubber trees and fur animals are sufficiently dispersed to require that persons exploiting them live or work at some distance from one another.

These factors of change were essentially the same among both Nambicuara and Montagnais, and they were introduced through contact with the outside world. Their initial effects upon the aboriginal cultures were somewhat dissimilar, owing to aboriginal differences between the two groups. Whereas the Nambicuara chief served at first as intermediary with the trader, this seems not to have been true of the Montagnais chief. Montagnais family heads, however, traded on behalf of their sons. For a short time, this pattern was followed by many

[text continues on p. 349]

[2]% burned, men and women killed and decapitated, and children stolen.

721 It has been said that, although individual warriors sought glory, the primary purpose of war was social and only secondarily the gratification of individual egos. The patterns of boasting and vainglory common among North American Indians of the high plains were absent among the Munduruců. A young man who made great claims [524] of prowess was pushed to the fore during the actual attack as a means of suppressing ego-assertion and not to validate it.

191 The suppression of individual interests in favor of those of the collectivity 577 of Munduruců is consistent with the dual ethic and world-view of this war-oriented society. The joy and pride that they obtained from external aggression is matched only by the horror aroused by internal strife. A Munduruců man never struck another in anger. If dissension arose, the principals temporarily avoided each other rather than show open hostility. Intragroup tensions did exist for a variety of causes, among which rivalry over women and fear of sorcery were predominant. The culture provided few internal cathartic mechanisms for latent agression, and, in fact, it enjoined social harmony most positively.

757 The execution of sorcerers was the [589] only situation in which drastic action was taken against another Munduruců, and the decision to kill the suspected witch had to be taken by the group as a whole. Sorcery and accusations of sorcery were common in all villages, and the subject was so feared that peo-

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
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756 754 it and spend the day spearing malignant spirits and objects. At nightfall, they reënter the shaman's hut, their points covered with the blood of these beings, and the practitioner asks them what variety of supernaturals they had destroyed and how many of each there were.

After he has rid the village of the evils inhabiting it, the shaman divulges the name of the sorcerer, if he believes the situation to be sufficiently serious. The accused shaman is usually killed from ambush outside his village, although some are dispatched by direct assault within its confines. Since the sorcerer's soul is believed to be dangerous even after death, another shaman must extract and destroy it immediately after the execution. This is done by brushing it from its position in the back to the top of the head with a mutúm feather. When the soul emerges from the head, it is caught in a hollow bamboo tube and cast into a fire.

754 518 Most studies of the subject conclude that sorcery executions are conducive to social cohesion, since they constitute a mechanism for the externalization of aggression and release of tension in a socially approved way, and also because they constitute a mechanism of social control. The Mundurucú data tend partly to substantiate this thesis, for sorcery executions are the only occasions on which intrasocietal violence is sanctioned. Interpersonal tensions are rife among the Mundurucú, but during our research no Mundurucú was even heard to raise his voice against another, and the occurrence of overt violence between men was specifically denied by informants. The social structure demanded complete harmony and cooperation; the latent and suppressed aggressions inevitable in such a situation were projected into the person of the sorcerer, and his execution was cathartic for the community. It will be shown, however, that the changing nature of this community has caused sorcery to be involved in its progressive and ongoing fission.

In spite of the fact that sorcery was a perilous practice, resort to black magic served as a covert expression of generalized hostility for the shaman, as well. Although it is impossible to induce any Mundurucú to admit witchcraft, I am inclined to believe that it is actively practiced. The techniques by which *cauí* are manufactured and propagated are well known to all shamans, and some informants claimed that sorcerers have revealed their activities to them, as in the case described above.* There is no doubt that many, if not most, accused shamans are entirely innocent of the charges, but this, of course, does not alter the function of sorcerer execution as an escape valve for repressed aggression and hostility within the society.

Aside from the suspicions, fear, and personal insecurity engendered by belief in witchery among prospective victims and shamans alike, the execution of sorcerers is frequently a source of factionalism within the society. During our residence in the village of Misaló Velha, the community was split by an impending sorcery execution. Two years earlier, a powerful shaman had been called to the village to destroy the malignant objects believed to have caused an outbreak of

* See pp. 44–47.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
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illness. This accomplished, the shaman informed the people of the identity of the sorcerer and implied that there was one more in the village whose name he would not reveal at that time. The accused man was duly slain, in spite of the objections of his house mate and brother-in-law. Sickness continued to trouble the village, and the shaman then revealed the name of the other guilty person. The latter, a young man named Antonio, was still present in Missão Velha during our sojourn. He remained somewhat aloof from the other men, but on occasion joined and even joked with some of those most intent upon killing him. However, the latter by no means included all the villagers. The brother-in-law of the shaman who had been killed two years before, Antonio's house mate, and the men of another of the eleven dwellings of the village opposed his execution or were at least in favor of allowing him to depart in peace. The faction that favored killing him was led by the son-in-law and the sons of the chief. The chief, himself, had rather ambivalent feelings about the case. He owed his position as chief to the mission priests, and he did not wish to bring down their inevitable wrath through another killing. But he believed in Antonio's guilt and refused to live in the same village with him. For a time he planned to shift his residence, but those plans were changed when he heard that Antonio intended to leave for the Tapajós River.

We had lived in this village for several weeks before the conflict came to our attention, for there was no external indication of disturbance in the smooth flow of everyday life. Only gradually it became evident that feelings were quite bitter. The faction that favored killing Antonio regarded him with fear and loathing. Those who favored his cause did so not out of disbelief in sorcery, but because they distrusted the honesty of his persecutor's motives, and because they were weary of the interminable conflicts in the village. They knew, however, that their cause was hopeless, and all had decided to move at their earliest convenience. If all carried out their intention, the village stood to lose 36 of its 90 people. Antonio's case was not unique; sorcery was almost invariably and deeply involved in the rapid fission process that was occurring in all Mundurucú villages.

Sorcery killings probably produced such tensions even before Mundurucú society had lost its cohesiveness. But there can be little doubt that the stronger patterns of leadership and interdependency of the past were more conducive to unanimity of action within the community on these occasions. Also, where complete concurrence could not be obtained, the dissident elements undoubtedly remained passive rather than create disharmony. The individual and the family depended completely upon larger groups for their continued existence, and, in any event, there existed no alternate residence pattern.

Sorcery and executions will undoubtedly continue even after the larger social units of extended family and village have become completely fragmented. The priests of the Cururú River mission have inveighed against belief in sorcery for more than forty years with little noticeable effect. Nor were they the first to attempt to suppress the practice. In 1876, Father Pelino de Castrovalva, the

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
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founder of the mission of Bacabal on the Tapajós River, wrote to the governor of the province of Pará the following words:

> Now one of the greatest superstitions with which I have had to battle has been that of witchcraft. What have I not said, what have I not done to wrest this pernicious superstition from their hearts? And how many deaths have they caused with these erroneous principles before the establishment of the mission? Despite all, when I begin to think that I have persuaded them to detest such an abominable vice, the first day that the missionary is missing they do the same things.[1]

[1] Cited in Tocantins, 1877, pp. 108–109.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

the clan of the man who manufactured them. If he dies or moves to another village, it is quite possible that no other man of that community will belong to the clan owning the trumpets. It is, therefore, understandable that informants were often vague when asked to explain the connection between clans and instruments. Many people believed that the trumpets had souls of their own and that these were the most important spirits resident within them. And, as has been mentioned, it was commonly thought that the playing of the instruments was pleasing to the spirit mothers of the game.

The actual function of the trumpets in present-day Mundurucú society has little to do with clanship, but much to do with the maintenance of the sharp dichotomy between the sexes. The instruments are primarily the property of the village men and are expressive of their unity and identity in the face of the women. In this connection it is significant that the villages that arose along the Cururú River have never had either the men's house or the sacred trumpets. As a corollary, the gulf between the sexes in social participation and labor that characterizes the savannah villages is lacking. On the Cururú the nuclear family is the basic social and economic unit. Men eat and sleep with their families and join their wives in tasks that would be considered degrading by a savannah dweller. But the demands of the rubber trade, combined with the covert hostility and factionalism that exist in all Mundurucú villages, are currently promoting migration from the savannah communities either to the Cururú River or to isolated residence along other streams. The end result will be the complete lapse of the sacred instruments and the men's organization.

The only other extant ceremonial is the one devoted to curing victims of soul loss. Since human souls are stolen by the spirit mothers of the game, this rite is also one of the few remaining religious acts that deals with this category of supernaturals. It is most significant that all the important means of obtaining the good will of these spirits and the increase of game have lapsed, although the Mundurucú have clung tenaciously to the technique of defending themselves against the spirits and rectifying the damage done by them. It may be said of the religion of the contemporary Mundurucú that it has retained those items that specifically protect the individual and, to a less degree the society, from harm though dropping those features that were not so immediately defensive in nature and which were more expressive of the integration and central values of the society.

To continue this line of thought, we turn to a consideration of those elements of Mundurucú religion that have maintained greatest vitality—shamanism and sorcery.[1] The two institutions are inseparable in the Mundurucú mind; the shaman cures diseases, which are invariably caused by sorcery, and the sorcerers are recruited from the ranks of the shamans. But disease, its explanation and its cure, has much greater significance than as a system of belief. Kluckhohn has shown for the Navaho that sorcery plays a vital role in the release of aggression,[1] and Beatrice Blythe Whiting's monograph *Paiute Sorcery*[2] shifts emphasis somewhat and stresses the function of sorcery as a mechanism of social control. Both of these fac-

[1] Kluckhohn, 1944.
[2] Whiting, 1950.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
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tors, but primarily that of aggression release, play a part in Mundurucú sorcery also.

In a previously published work[8] I set forth the thesis that aggression cannot be tolerated in Mundurucú society because of the combination of a matrilocal residence rule and a patrilineal descent system. Under these social conditions each man has two sets of allegiances, one to his clan and the other to the household and village of his wife. Since the two do not coincide, he occupies social roles that potentially can conflict That is, a quarrel between households or villages may well pit fellow clansmen against each other, and, correspondingly, conflict between clans can cause internal dissension within villages and even households. Open aggression is therefore avoided among the Mundurucú, and, although interpersonal and interfactional tensions abound within the group, they are generally suppressed. The feeling of horror at the outward display of hostility between men is so strong that informants were unwilling to give data upon its occurrence, although it occasionally happens.

Violence during warfare or the execution of a sorcerer, however, is thoroughly condoned. Attacks upon enemy tribes served to channel hostility upon surrogate objects outside the society and thus promoted social cohesion, but this avenue of release is no longer open. The only remaining catharsis for aggression is the practice of sorcery and the execution of suspected sorcerers. Another alternative, withdrawal from the frustrating situation, has been made possible by the general pacification of the upper Tapajós area and the consequent possibility of flight from village life. In former times it would have been most risky for an individual or family to forsake the mutual security offered by the local group, but today it is common for Mundurucú to live in the midst of the Brazilian rubber-gathering population. Even within the confines of Mundurucú territory, the tendency toward neolocal residence makes isolated or semi-isolated existence socially acceptable.

Mundurucú sorcery has a number of interesting facets. It is impossible to induce any shaman to admit the practice, but the body of detailed knowledge of witchcraft techniques suggests that it indeed exists. Granting that witchcraft is not completely a figment of the Mundurucú imagination, the practitioner undoubtedly derives considerable gratification of his antisocial inclinations. Also, the Mundurucú generally fix suspicion of sorcery upon the more deviant shamans. Thus of the two people known by me to have been suspected of witchcraft, one was a rather humorless, silent, and aloof man, and the other, although more outgoing, far outstripped the other members of the village in rubber production. The threat of sorcery accusation, it may be inferred, tends to enforce social participation and conformity.

These factors of covert release of aggression and social control are, however, applicable only to the ranks of shamans. Persons born without shamanistic powers are unable to practice witchcraft, and sorcerers do not practice on behalf of others. But the dogged persistence of belief in black magic among the members of the society at large suggests that it does perform a very vital social function. It has al-

[8] Murphy, 1957.

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ready been mentioned that depopulation, the disintegration of the social structure, and the decline of such highly valued activities as warfare and the hunt have robbed the Mundurucú of much that was vital and positive in their way of life and left them disheartened and apathetic. Frustration, in the classic paradigm, normally leads to aggression, the expression of which is forbidden in this culture. Fear of sorcery among the Mundurucú is a means of embodying and phrasing in understandable terms not only the manifold anxieties of their existence but the latent aggression that nearly all members of the society carry within them. In this connection, it will be remembered that the intrusive objects made by the sorcerer are spread abroad and are not usually directed against any one person. The sorcerer is then, as the Mundurucú say, malevolent toward society in general. This is not only logically consistent with the indiscriminate ravages of epidemic disease, but it also suggests that the accusers of the sorcerer displace generalized aggression to his person and eradicate it through his execution.

That considerable aggression is unleashed upon the executed sorcerer can be inferred from the quality of the executions and the way in which informants report them. Many, if not most, executions take place from ambush, but some are bloody affairs in which the accused is beaten to death with clubs. And the Mundurucú enthusiastically relate these episodes with obvious hatred for the victim. The men of the village of Cabruá derived evident satisfaction by pointing to a brown smear on the posts of their men's house and saying: "That is where we wiped the blood of our last sorcerer from our hands." This emotional intensity parallels that reported by Kluckhohn among the Navaho,[4] and among both peoples this is atypical behavior.

Since aggression is related not only to real interpersonal differences but to frustration and general insecurity, it should be expected that witchcraft accusations would be most common in periods of stress. This is borne out by the Mundurucú practice of refraining from direct action against the sorcerer until illness becomes severe in the community and deaths occur. Unfortunately, we do not have sufficient historical material to demonstrate conclusively, as did Kluckholn, that sorcery troubles are correlated with historical periods of crisis. The best primary source on the Mundurucú, the report of the Brazilian engineer Antonio Tocantins, in 1875, describes sorcery executions as extremely frequent and one of the major problems of the Bacabal mission.[5] But it is difficult to evaluate the significance of this data and to control all the variables in the situation without similarly complete reports from other periods. In 1875 the Mundurucú still waged war and therefore had available a means of expression of hostility which had the obvious advantage of being directed outside the society. But on the other hand, Mundurucú society was then being subjected to its greatest threat since the contact with the whites, for these were the first years of the rubber-extraction period, and the Indians themselves were becoming increasingly involved in the industry. White rubber tappers were penetrating the area in growing numbers, and the mission had just been established. In

[4] Kluckhohn, 1944, p. 56.
[5] Tocantins, 1877, pp. 107–111.

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view of the complexity of the problem and the paucity of data, however, it can only be concluded that sorcery was also common in times past. Whether or not accusations and executions have increased in number or in proportion to the number of shamans cannot be positively ascertained, but it is highly significant that the institution has been perpetuated into the present, a period that has seen the disappearance of much of Mundurucú religious activity.

It has been said that the shaman occupies a most precarious role today. The source of much of the evil threatening the group, he also is the only person who can cope with the harmful forces, and his services are in great demand. The Mundurucú are deeply concerned with illness and frequently sought relief in the medicine afforded by my wife and me and by the mission and Indian Service Post. But given their theory of disease, modern medicines were inadequate for a complete cure and were believed efficacious only in healing the damage done by supernatural agencies. The removal and destruction of the latter can only be accomplished by the shaman. The role thus has a dual function; society purges itself of repressed hostility through the imputation of malevolence to the shaman, and it is also the means by which society protects itself from the believed evil.

This dual function makes shamanism a most ambivalent practice. All but the most powerful practitioners, who usually are called upon to detect sorcerers, are in great and continued danger. The general reduction of the Mundurucú population has proportionately thinned the ranks of the shaman, and executions have further reduced their numbers. Many leave the Mundurucú country in flight from execution parties or in fear of future accusation. Others refuse to practice shamanism in the hope, often vain, that they will thus shield themselves from suspicion. The result is that many villages are without shamans, and their residents accordingly lose another motive for remaining members of nucleated communities.

The involvement of sorcery in repressed conflict may be seen through an examination of a few case histories. The instance already cited in which the village of Missão Velha split on whether to kill the accused Antonio is a case in point. Antonio was the most industrious rubber tapper of the village and was much disliked by the family of the chief. The latter group was, as in most Mundurucú villages, the strongest aggregration of kinsmen in the community, since it included not only the sons-in-law of the chief, but also his sons, who are customarily exempt from the matrilocal residence rule. Relations were strained between the chief's group and the men of many other households of the village, for the latter looked upon the chief as the appointee of the missionaries and resented the strength of his family. These dissidents sided with the condemned shaman. They were not, however, willing to court the possibility of open factional struggle by offering physical defense of Antonio, but resolved instead to leave the village.

Another case of sorcery, this time in the savannah village of Cabruá, saw the men of the village determined to kill the stepson of the chief. The latter, supported by his sons and sons-in-law, intervened, and the man's life was spared. In a

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third village, however, the power of the chief's family must have been weak, for both he and his son were slain as sorcerers by the other men of the village. The tendency for villages to fractionate because of sorcery fears and accusations is probably greater now than in the past. Not only is village cohesion in general much weaker, but the disappearance of such leadership activities as heading war parties and trading on behalf of the village as a whole has made it most difficult for the chief to obtain the consensus necessary to carrying out an execution. It must not be thought, however, that lack of unanimity in sorcerer killings indicates a decline in belief in black magic; it rather reflects distrust of the sincerity of the accusers and the existence of latent factionalism that may not be directly caused by witchcraft. But these occasions bring conflicts to a head and open breaches that are in many cases irreparable and can be resolved only by the removal of one party.

This analysis of the Mundurucú data indicates that although the institution of sorcery may be viewed in one light as socially integrative, so far as it acts as a cathartic for aggression, it may also be most disruptive of social cohesion, for it often aggravates tensions.[6] It would seem that shamanism and sorcery have become complementary to the central direction of social and economic change. The ecological accommodation to increased participation in rubber production calls for the dispersal of the population into ever smaller units in the vicinity of the stands of wild rubber trees. Correspondingly, sorcery conflicts tend to disintegrate larger village units while being integrative for factions within the village, which then commonly establish themselves as small local groups. This is not the only means by which social fission occurs. Latent conflicts that do not involve sorcery sometimes cause families and factions to leave villages; others leave because of the economic expediency of residence near their rubber avenues. But sorcery remains as a contributing motivation for the participants in the process. The Mundurucú example thus suggests that the institution of sorcery may promote the cohesion of a society as a whole, but only where other bases for such cohesion exist.

The close relationship of religion to the social structure can be seen quite as clearly in the context of change as in a synchronic dimension. As the society has become progressively divested of those mechanisms that integrated tribe and village, so also have group religious activities fallen into abeyance. What remains are the essentially individual practices of shamanism and sorcery. This is the same process noted for other parts of South America by Steward, and which he has phrased as part of a change in "level of sociocultural integration."[7] But beyond the scope of participation in religious activity we have seen another selective factor determining which segments of religion will persist. This, in brief, is the simple question of whether the element serves some social function in the changed setting. By this criterion, the warfare ceremonies have totally disappeared, and the ceremonies for the animal spirits have declined with the shift of a large part of the population from hunting to fishing. Similarly, the

[6] Kluckhohn (1944, p. 71) has noted the presence of disruptive elements in Navaho witchcraft also, although the analysis of these tendencies were beyond the scope of his treatise.

[7] Steward, 1951.

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614 mission, who described a rather complex system of 34 patrilineal clans, some of which were linked in unnamed phratries, and which were parceled almost equally between patrilineal, exogamic moieties. This report is substantially correct, but for the minor fact that Mundurucú informants can list 38 clans, and the actual number, before depopulation set in, must have been well above 40. Actually, only 30 clans are currently extant.

DESCENT AND RESIDENCE

616 Although the clans are formally exogamic, their marriage-regulatory functions are superseded by the more inclusive moiety system. The moieties, called "Red" and "White" by the Mundurucú, comprehend 16 and 22 clans. In addition to their marriage-regulatory functions, the moieties partake of the characteristics of reciprocity, rivalry, and antithesis, which, as Lowie notes, are commonly found in moiety systems.[4] During many ceremonies and on all festive occasions intersexual joking between members of opposite moieties is acceptable and expected; and in the course of everyday village life, one may act with much greater levity toward a person of the complementary group. While the joking aspect of moiety relations may indicate behavior appropriate to prospective sexual partners, latent affinal antagonism is manifest in their reciprocal duties and rights. Every clan in each moiety is designated as the *iboiwatitit* of certain clans of the opposite. This mutual relationship entails the duty to bury each others' dead. The Mundurucú look upon this not only as an obligation, but as a right and a privilege, or, as they sometimes phrase it, a mode of revenge. This is not merely symbolic phraseology. During the period when raiding still occurred, it was considered necessary that every dead

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[4] Lowie, 1948, p. 242.

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operate to the detriment of integration within the wife's household. Among the Mundurucú, however, there is no matrilineage (or patrilineage), and a man is bound to his natal household primarily by affect. As his own group of brothers becomes dispersed in matrilocal residence and his parents die, such emotional ties become correspondingly attenuated. From the point of view of social structure, the process by which he is integrated into his new matrix, however loosely, is reinforced by the gradual attrition of bonds of the old; and as part of the same process, his marriage becomes more stable. We see then that Mundurucú matrilocality contributes to the brittleness of marriage in its early phase, but the lack of corporate, bounded lineages leads in time to the strengthening of the connubial tie. Later sections will explore more completely the position of the married couple and the nuclear family within the larger framework of social life.

Adultery is common and a frequent source of strife between mates, but generally results in divorce only when the wife is promiscuous. The men regard their own adulterous escapades as highly amusing incidents, but take a far less lenient view when cuckolded. An offended husband may beat his wife or harangue her, but no direct physical action is taken against the guilty male. The woman whose husband is unfaithful has little recourse except to chastise him verbally and, as one female informant said, "go out and do the same thing myself."

Adultery causes few open conflicts among the Mundurucú, but it is a chronic source of ill feeling. To a certain extent, latent hostility probably contributes to adultery. One of the more amusing episodes of our field trip was the plight of the trader-appointed, and thoroughly hated, chief Biboi, of the village of Cabitutú. Biboi had two wives, one in Cabitutú and the other in Cabruá. The

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spouse who lived in Cabitutú was his first wife, and she would not tolerate the second, a young girl of rather roving inclinations. Biboi's duties kept him in Cabitutú much of the time, but he was unable to bring his young wife there because of the disposition of the older one. This produced a dilemma, for the men of Cabruá, with but few exceptions, took great glee in fornicating with the girl during her husband's absences. Rumors of these happenings generally brought Biboi to the side of his errant mate, but his responsibilities soon drew him away again. And the men of Cabruá would again follow her into the underbrush. Their attraction to the young woman was, of course, primarily sexual, but most expressed their dual gratification in being able covertly to offend Biboi. The situation was reminiscent of a Mundurucú myth in which a man took revenge upon his hated brother by seducing his wife.[17]

Biboi's plural union is not a typical situation among the modern Mundurucú. Matrilocal residence makes polygyny most difficult, except of the sororal type, and no cases of the latter union were known by informants. It is, however, possible for chiefs and their sons, who can usually expect exemption from the matrilocal rule; chiefs were said by informants frequently to have had plural unions in former times. None, however, were known to have had more than two wives.

The only obligatory union among the Mundurucú is with a person of the opposite moiety. Moiety exogamy is rigidly adhered to in the savannah villages, and no cases of intramoiety marriage existed at the time of our visit. Informants denied the existence of casual liaisons between persons of the same moiety, and I do not know of any. Incest is looked upon as a serious offense against

[17] Murphy, 1958.

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476 183 from his co-residents and arouse their antagonism and suspicion. For a shaman, such asocial and deviant behavior may court the risk of accusation of sorcery. Coöperation is an aspect of the general solidarity and cohesion that is manifest, at least in surface relationships, among the men. 578 Open arguments are rare among Mundurucú males; during our residence we never heard one raise his voice against another. And physical violence, except in the execution of sorcerers, is almost unheard of. The Mundurucú look on such behavior as a white man's trait and consider it to be repulsive among "people."

476 621 This emphasis on harmony and coöperation among the Mundurucú men is significant for the social structure. The men are an eclectic group from the standpoint of patrilineal kinship and local origins, but the organization of men's house activities welds them into a unified social entity that coöperates in economic matters and, in former times, in warfare. The uniformity of the men's organization from one village to another, and its diverse membership, do much to ease the strains imposed on the male by matrilocal residence, for a change in village is primarily a change from one men's house to another.

562 The solidarity of the village men has no doubt done much to maintain the striking male dominance manifest in Mundurucú society, despite the fact that the consanguineal continuity of the village is maintained primarily through household nuclei of related women. But these are also ritual techniques for the maintenance of male social superiority. Women enter the dormitory part of the eksá 345 778 534 only when it is absolutely necessary. The chamber in which the sacred trumpets (karökö), are kept is absolutely forbidden to them. The trumpets are stored in a chamber adjoining the southwest side of the men's house. That of the village of Cabruá measures 11 by 20 feet, and palm

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but the Mundurucú themselves, openly, consciously, and with no little amusement say also that they discipline their women with the penis.

The punishment of a woman for spying on the karökö is no doubt a rarity, but the penalty is occasionally meted for offenses of a related nature. Adultery is fairly common among the Mundurucú, but it usually is instigated by the male. Because of the inequality implicit in their roles, a lone woman generally finds it difficult to resist the determined advances of a man; her chief protection is the constant company of other women. But if the woman frequently and deliberately leaves the village alone, she is considered to be desirous of sexual relations and therefore fair game—this is a generally correct conclusion on the part of the men. Such a female is tolerated, indeed welcomed, by the men, but if her promiscuity becomes flagrant and if she takes the initiative in liaisons, she becomes a threat to the men. In effect, she usurps the male role. At this point, the men await an opportunity and then gang-rape her. Any woman who departs from her ascribed social role, or who even forsakes the protection of the men responsible for her well-being, may also be so punished. Adolescent girls who run away from the school conducted by the Cururú Mission, for example, are frequently apprehended in their flight and raped. All men join in on these occasions, without recognition of clan or moiety affiliations to their victim. One case was related in which a true parallel cousin took part in the rape of a girl who had fled the mission. At the conclusion of the act, he brought her back to the priests with appropriate and sanctimonious comments on the problem of wayward girls.

The sexes, among the Mundurucú, constitute self-conscious social groups. Mundurucú generally relax in the company of members of their own sex and sit apart at

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562 mixed social gatherings. The females resent the male posi-
● 578 tion, and the modern savannah woman commonly objects to
571 the fact that the sexual division of labor is maintained here,
[184] unlike among the Cururú River Mundurucú where men join their wives even in such prosaic tasks as farinha making. When the men laughingly recount a gang-rape, or some similar event, the women become markedly nervous and draw closer together. Hostility manifests itself in inconsequential happenings also. When the interpreter introduced the Mundurucú to the mystery of the slingshot, the men immediately peppered the women with palm seeds.

182 The trumpets have lost most of their relations to clans
534 but remain functional in protecting the village from super-
778 natural harm and in the maintenance of traditional sexual
562 roles. They also symbolize the unity of the men as a solidary body. That the women also cohere under threat of the men is clear from the account given above. But such unification and cohesion of females is usually temporary, for the social structure places the woman in a different context of interpersonal relations from that of the men.

THE WOMEN AND THE FAMILY

562 Whereas the center of male activity is the men's house, that of the females of the village is the dwelling and the open walled hut in which farinha is made by all village women. The internal physical arrangement of the dwelling
342 house reflects its organization. It is uncompartmented, and the roof is suspended from a ridge pole supported by two vertical posts. Horizontal poles are trussed against these verticals and across to the front and back walls, and the women and children hang their hammocks between these beams and the end walls of the house. The house is thus divided into three unwalled sections; each end contains

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and participates most intensively in the labor is illustrated by the example of two visitors in the village of Cabruá. Two elderly Mundurucú, one from the Tropas River and the other from the Cururú, arrived in the village to visit kinsmen. Both were excellent informants, and they stayed at our request longer than they had planned. They required a few trade articles that we were unable to supply and, accordingly, arranged to sell farinha to a trader. Neither had a garden in the village, and they harvested from those of relatives. Although each of the two men helped his wife in the process, other women of the village gave aid. Their coöperation was not as great as it would have been if these had been regular residents of the village, but it was still significant and given ungrudgingly. And although the wives of the two men worked with the other women throughout their stay in the village, none of the households could expect reciprocal labor from the two couples equal to that which had been extended. The people of Cabruá had simply followed the Mundurucú principle that coöperation should be given in any task in which joint effort is possible. [183]

Mutual interdependence in manioc processing is a strong integrating factor among the women. But the farinha shed offers other gratifications than the purely economic. The women talk and joke as they work there, and those not immediately engaged in the labor sit about and join the conversation. Clusters of women often congregate in the farinha shed for purely social purposes when no farinha is being manufactured. As a forum and a point of social interaction, the farinha shed serves somewhat the same function for the females as the men's house for the males.

Harmony, so obvious among the men, is not as complete among the women, however. The household unit of fe-

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571 males is extremely close knit and is probably the most co-
578 hesive group in Mundurucú society. Such is the emotional
592 bond between the women of these groups that I know of
[762] one who committed suicide because of alienation from her two sisters and house mates. But beyond the extended family, conflicts between individual women or households are common. All women of the household generally join with a member in her antipathy for another woman or household; this, of course, follows from the fact that the housemates are closely related to each other, which complements the allegiance arising from co-residence.

521 Hostility between the women generally takes the form
578 of malicious gossip. My wife, Yolanda, was the recipient of
[123] most of the confidences that passed among the women, which constituted one of our most valuable sources of information. Coleta, an Indian girl who lived in our house
[115] and worked for us, used to regale Yolanda by the hour with tales of adultery and of the promiscuity of certain women. Coleta was an excellent source of such data, as she herself was well known for waywardness in affairs of the heart. And we usually managed to learn by this means of the well-repressed hostilities in the village, of fears and accusations of sorcery, and in general of relations between the sexes. Yolanda's participation in the gossip network brought her even closer to the women, and they, in turn, gossiped about her. One of the favored places for the exchange of female information and opinion was the shed where farinha was made. The women usually chatted animatedly as they worked there, but as soon as one left the group, the heads of the others drew together and she was thoroughly discussed; after a couple of months of residence in the village, the same thing happened, as we had no difficulty finding out, when Yolanda left their midst. Gossip is the chief form of expression of antagonism among

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the women, but occasionally spiteful remarks are exchanged or a hair-pulling match, usually over a man, occurs. These events provide the grist for conversation for weeks.

Relations between the women of the savannah communities are subjected to an extra, situational strain because of an unequal ratio of the sexes. In the village of Cabruá, for example, there were thirteen mature men and eighteen women; the five unattached females constituted a serious threat to the married women, for they seduced many of the husbands and attempted to induce them to leave their wives. The disproportion between the sexes is promoted by the greater mobility of the male and the structure of savannah-Cururú relations. Young *campineiros* sometimes wander into the Cururú River villages, marry there and settle according to the matrilocal pattern. But fear of witchcraft and long distances from rubber-producing areas inhibit the reverse from taking place. The result is a shortage of husbands in the savannahs and a dearth of wives on the Cururú. Jealousy over sex is rife among savannah women, and mutual hostilities are structured by the support given by the matrilocal extended family.

The nuclear family is not an important social unit in the savannah villages, although it is basic to life in the rubber season, when village and extended family break up to exploit the scattered resource. But during the eight to nine months of annual residence in the villages, the nuclear family has few vital functions. The men's house prevents it from being a consumption unit in the subsistence economy and from being even a co-resident group. And the thoroughgoing division of labor between the sexes delivers the nuclear family from any primary responsibility in the processes of production. Husband and wife occa-

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in the powers and duties of the office. Older informants said that chiefs formerly inherited the office either from their father or older brother. Lineal continuity of the chieftaincy in a village was ensured by the general exemption of most of the chief's sons from the rule of matrilocality. The chief, although never authoritarian or possessed of coercive powers among the Mundurucú, was nonetheless an important figure in the community. His was the most prominent voice in any collective decisions affecting the village as a whole; he frequently led war parties, and he represented the village in commercial or other relations with the whites. His position was reinforced in a number of ways. He was generally selected from the available and possible heirs because he had distinguished himself as a warrior through taking trophy heads and was the repository of lore and songs. And the patrilocality of the chief's family allowed him to build a strong kin group composed of sons and sons-in-law. This exemption from the normal residence rule also legitimized the line due to the genealogical continuity of the family within the village. Thus, the chieftaincy symbolized the village as a continuing entity. Furthermore, his special relations with the whites and his role of intermediary, in which he sold the trade commodities gathered by the villagers and distributed the returns among them, did much to enhance his status.

The Mundurucú look upon their contemporary village chiefs with mixed feelings. The chief is often personally respected and liked by the people, but they simultaneously feel the office to be inconsequential and of little importance today. And they quite frequently look upon their particular leader as an illegal occupant of the position. Also, the role of chief is commonly a center of latent hostility and factionalism. This change has come about through the disappearance of the more integrative aspects

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of the chieftaincy and the persistence and aggravation of certain disruptive features.

First, the Mundurucú chief no longer holds the all-important position of war leader. Second, he now trades on behalf of his village in theory only. In the nineteenth century the trading function of the chief tended to bolster his traditional powers and some became well-known figures in the Tapajós valley. As the rubber trade grew in importance, the control of the chiefs became increasingly important to those traders who monopolized the Indian commerce. Since this period corresponded with the declining days of warfare, some traders were able to install their own appointees as village chiefs where the rightful holder of the office was unsuitable to them. Besides, traders occasionally took Mundurucú to Belém, where they were introduced to government functionaries and awarded the title of *capitão*. These new luminaries were sent back to their villages and assigned the task of representing the trader. Thus, legitimate lines of succession were broken, and the new chiefs owed their positions to the trader. The villagers were well aware of this.

The general patrilocality of the chief's family, no matter by what means he was selected, continued; his extended family remained the largest such unit in the village and, more important, was the only significant group of close male, patrilineal relatives. The rest of the village men were of diverse affiliations and found organization within the context of men's-house activities. But they were faced with a powerful kin group in which political authority was vested. If points of difference arose, the men of the chief's group rallied to his support, but antagonisms were aroused among the other men. In former times, the important functions served by the chieftainship undoubtedly overrode the potential factionalism inherent in this situation, but, in

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the new setting, the position was stripped of legitimate succession and divested of the attributes that commanded greatest respect. The strength of the chief's group thus became a sore point in village life.

These problems are amply illustrated by the contemporary chieftaincies of the savannah villages of Cabruá and Cabitutú. Until two years before my investigation, an old Mundurucú whose Portuguese name is Caetano had been chief in the village of Cabitutú. He did not occupy the office by patrilineal succession, but was appointed by a trader who maintained exclusive dealings with the villagers. The residents of Cabitutú respected and accepted Caetano because of his age and the fact that he was not aggressive in promoting the interests of the trader. When the old chief of Cabruá, who possessed the office legitimately, died, the trader decided to shift Caetano from Cabitutú to Cabruá and to install Caetano's son in the vacancy created. The latter, a young man named Biboi, had been raised by the trader. In contrast to the usual unassertive, retiring, coöperative, and nonaggressive Mundurucú conduct, Biboi was loud and vociferous in his claim to be "the only one in Cabitutú who knows how to tell the people to work and who can deal with the trader." The villagers looked upon an older man, who was also a shaman, as the rightful possessor of the office and regarded Biboi as a usurper and tool of the trader. They were prepared to kill him, but refrained because of respect for his father, Caetano, and his family. To kill Biboi would have caused endless trouble, and the Mundurucú assiduously avoid such situations.

In the meantime, Caetano's tenure of the chieftaincy of Cabruá was somewhat uneasy. More than one-third of the men residing in the village did business with another trader than the one who had made the appointment, and

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they felt that Caetano did not represent them. Furthermore, one of these men was the son of the former chief, and many villagers confided that he, and not Caetano, was the rightful leader. One of Caetano's sons, a stepson, and a son-in-law also lived in the village, however, and he had too much support for any effective opposition that would not develop into open conflict. That the position of the chief was not a source of open strife is due not only to the strength of the chief's family but to the contemporary weakness of the office. Large-scale joint activities, such as inter-village ceremonies and warfare, no longer exist, and situations that demand firm authority are rare. Coöperative economic endeavors among the men are freely entered into within the framework of the men's organization. Thus, Caetano seldom was compelled to issue orders and formulate policies that would affect the entire village. Also, as in Cabitutú, Caetano was respected because of his age and his cultivation of Mundurucú tradition.

Despite the relative placidity of politics in Cabruá, as contrasted to Cabitutú, there were several points of tension. Shortly after Caetano assumed the chieftaincy, the men of Cabruá accused his stepson of sorcery and planned to kill him. But the chief and his kinsmen intervened, and the man's life was spared. Relations remained strained between the two factions, although the everyday behavior of the principals showed no evidence of this.

The situation of Biboi in Cabitutú was precarious. During our stay, his father fell from a palm tree and seemed badly injured. Biboi immediately left Cabitutú to rush to Caetano's side. He was motivated partly by filial devotion, but he also knew that his life would be in jeopardy if the old man died as a result of the injuries. He explained to us that in this event, he would move to the Tapajós River. When asked why he blandly evaded his true motives and

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said, "Because it is beautiful there." Caetano recovered, and the unpopular Biboi returned to Cabitutú.

Today, the role of the chief as intermediary for his village with the traders is a fiction. The intricate trading system of Cabruá will be discussed below, but it must be mentioned here that the traders weigh each man's rubber production separately and give him his own credit, and each person's purchases are also separately charged to his own account. But all transactions are conducted in the presence of the chief, and he voices his followers' requirements of merchandise. Since it is convenient to the interests of the traders that the people feel they owe to the chief, the latter is charged with the combined accounts of his followers, and he is therefore expected to encourage their productivity. Despite this ruse, persons who are deeply in debt are refused further credit while those with only a small debt or a credit are given merchandise. The fiction of the chief's position is partly maintained, however, which tends to integrate his body of immediate followers. But the people understand, however imperfectly, that their fortunes and those of the chief are not identical and that the hard worker receives goods while the shirker does not, no matter how much the chief is said to owe.

The ultimate effect of trade probably will be to individualize commercial transactions further, and the office of chief will then lose almost all function. Its contemporary weakness, combined with the factionalism latent in the creation of patrilineages in a matrilocal society, have made it the center of controversy. However, the chieftaincy continues to symbolize the identity of the village, and, despite its stormy aspects, the decline of the institution is directly related to the progressive disorganization of village life.

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this is a valid statement. But it conveys the impression that such integration is sufficient to social cohesion; actually interpenetrating modes of segmentation may make social adjustment a most delicate matter. 121

When considering the relation between structural integration and social solidarity, it may be well to keep in mind that life in society requires a degree of personal renunciation as a means of securing the corporate well-being. Conflicts in interest, between individuals or groups, are bound to follow in all human societies. The causes and intensity of conflict and the means by which it is resolved are, however, variables of the structure of the particular society. The open expression of hostility, we learn from the sociologist Georg Simmel,[3] may result in a readjustment of relations between groups that produces a measure of stability; the playing out of conflicts can thus promote the integration of a society through the correction of disbalances in power and by the cathartic release of aggression.[4] According to Meyer Fortes, battles between lineal groups in Tallensi society has just this effect.[5] But the Tallensi are significantly different from the Mundurucú. Both are patrilineal, but the former society has local groups based on patrilocal residence; conflict between kin groups is simultaneously conflict between local groups.

Conflict in Mundurucú society, on the other hand, cannot range along such simple segmental lines. The memberships of lineal groups and local groups do not coincide; in a conflict, people cannot align themselves with clan fellows, for this may well pit them against the members of 578 571 628

[3] Simmel, 1955.

[4] The latter corollary to Simmel's thesis has been more fully developed by Lewis Coser (1956).

[5] Fortes, 1945, pp. 240–244. See also Gluckman (1956) for a penetrating analysis of segmentary opposition and the part played by cross-cutting loyalties in the dampening of bend.

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571 578 628 the same men's house, or even the same household. Correspondingly, if a man is to side with his co-residents, he may find himself arrayed against his patrilineal kinsmen in another household or village. Mundurucú men have two primary sets of bonds, one based on co-residence and the other on patrilineal kinship. Since the persons affected in each set are generally not the same, the individual is placed in potential role conflict, if sides are to be chosen. To choose the tie of kinship may disrupt the village and household and their economies; to give primary loyalty to one's co-residents can destroy clanship.

There can be no balance of antagonisms in Mundurucú society; conflict can only destroy both social solidarity and social integration. Hostility is, for this reason, suppressed. Intervillage conflicts are unheard of, as are those between kin groups. And interpersonal grievances remain latent between individuals not only because of the disruptive effect of an open breach, but because the antagonists cannot expect uniform support from either kinsmen or co-residents. Covert factionalism may be rife among the Mundurucú, but open feud is impossible within their social system.

578 There are few means to express the aggression arising from the frustrations of normal social life. Real grievances, such as those arising from sexual rivalries or from the institution of chieftainship, do not result in direct retaliation against the objects of hostility. Aggression is instead buried and later displaced on surrogates. During the nineteenth century, the Mundurucú were able to use warfare as a displacement device and as a rallying point for social cohesion. The only acceptable means of purging latent hostility today is the projection of generalized antagonisms to the shamans and their execution as sorcerers. [683]

Although matrilocality is no longer as rigidly adhered

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to as in the past, the conflicting modes of segmentation noted above still largely apply. And, correspondingly, aggression is repressed and the highest degree of harmony and coöperation is enjoined on the members of the society. The even and calm tonality of interpersonal relationships is most evident in the village, but it extends also to all men of the tribe. The men are unaggressive and uncompetitive; it is difficult to elicit relative prestige rankings from Mundurucú informants and practically impossible to learn of the overt hostilities that occasionally occur. The observer receives the initial impression of enormous cohesion, but prolonged residence in any community reveals severe grievances and smoldering factionalism. Despite these tendencies, the savannah Mundurucú do not fight among themselves, and they maintain the external appearance of solidarity and coöperation. But the society is extremely vulnerable to factionalism and hostility; social cohesion is precarious, and disaffection is an important motive for emigration from the savannah villages.

Today, this communality is primarily operative on the level of village organization; coöperative endeavors among several communities are largely defunct. Warfare and the ceremonial cycle have lapsed, and intervillage relations are structured by personal ties of kinship and not by the interdependency of villages as groups. Tribalism has further decayed as a consequence of the migration to the shores of the Cururú River and the alienation of the latter residents. But clan, language, and much of the traditional culture remain to maintain the boundaries between "people" and "foreigners."

SOCIAL ASPECTS OF RELIGION

Certain features of Mundurucú religious belief and activity are of particular relevance to the economy and social

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754 [683] The shaman is said by the Mundurucú to be "angry at everybody," and he continues his practice until apprehended and executed.

The sorcerer is thus visualized as the bearer of latent and generalized aggression that is expressed by covert means, and it is possible to infer, from the beliefs surrounding the institution, the projection and expurgation of repressed hostility within the society at large. Witchcraft has particular tenacity because it serves to provide the practitioner of the art with a means of aggression release, and it provides the members of the community with a technique for displacing their own hostilities to his person and deriving further catharsis through his execution. Witchcraft also serves to explain the ills that inflict humanity, and provides a means of defense against them. The problems resolved by belief in sorcery and shamanism are almost universal in scope—disease, death, and social tensions—and are not so narrowly keyed to the variables of Mundurucú society and economy as were the defunct ceremonies. The problem of repressed antagonism is especially acute among the Mundurucú, however, because of the injunction against the open display and playing out of hostility. [578]

683 754 Ideally, the execution of a sorcerer is carried out with the consensus of nearly all members of the community. Such agreement was probably more easily obtained in the past when political controls were firmer and less subject to dispute and the bonds of mutual interdependence among villagers stronger. Today, however, sorcery accusations frequently bring factionalism perilously near the surface. In one savannah community, the chief and one of his sons were slain as sorcerers, and in another only the intervention of the chief and his family saved his stepson from the same fate. That chiefs and their families are so com-

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them through its combined purchasing power and its members have access to them. The sharing of food also fortifies the ties of interdependence. A family does not go hungry unless everybody in the village is in similar straits, and the unlucky hunter, the traveler, or the family whose garden was ruined by armadillos or wild pigs may count on housemates or neighbors in other households for aid.

Within the household, the framework of social cohesion is provided by the core of related resident females. And although the men of the household are marginal participants in its internal workings, they identify themselves with its interests and occupants to an increasing degree, as their marital union grows in age and stability. But the men are also integrated on the level of the village through the men's house, which serves as political forum, social club, and center of a male religious cult. The men's house also is the place where members of the same moiety and, perhaps, of the same phratry associate. Bonds of kinship, which ultimately include all Mundurucú in a limited set of relationships, are important deterrents to any motivation to move into a more isolated existence.

The savannah villages appear to the observer as extremely well-knit and unified organizations; and the ease with which new residents or visitors are integrated into them is an impressive display of tribal solidarity. But such harmony is difficult to maintain. Hostilities may be repressed, but not indefinitely or completely. Mundurucú culture provides few escape valves for aggression. Warfare was formerly the ideal vent for latent hostility, and it had the dual advantage of affording an external outlet and requiring social solidarity by arraying the tribe against a common foe.

The lapse of warfare left only the execution of sorcerers

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182 as the single permissible occasion on which violence was
578 condoned. Kluckhohn's[9] view is well founded that the
754 sorcerer's practice and his execution are cathartic for him
683 and the society, but it is still significant that aggression is released within the society and not outside. This would not disrupt a society that enjoyed other and stronger bases of solidarity, and it might well promote integration; but the result among the modern Mundurucú has been the intrusion of sorcery accusations into factional disputes and frequent failure to obtain agreement on executions. Thus, not only shamans but disaffected persons also leave village life.

182 Conflicts between persons and groups are not always
578 connected with witchcraft. The Mundurucú men com-
[837] monly engage in clandestine escapades with the wives of others. The injured husband does not court open conflict against the adulterer, however, and resentments are generally well contained. Another cause of hostility is the
[622] numerical and social strength of the chief's family and the question of the legitimacy of his succession. The only recourse left to dissident parties is to withdraw from the situation. They may go to another village, which was a common means of resolving the situation in the nineteenth century also, or they may move to permanent residence at their rubber avenue, which today happens more frequently. The choice of the latter alternative may end the tension, but the severance of social relations obviously disrupts integration, especially when it occurs frequently.

182 Social tensions commonly cause people to leave their
591 villages. Concomitantly, there has been a progressive
596 weakening of the bonds that hold them. The diminished
[578] size of the extended family has made the matrilocality on which it is based more vulnerable to situational factors

[9] Kluckhohn, 1944.

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ironical in their replies to the question of how José achieved his present status. Typical answers were, "Ask the priests," or, "Only José knows."

This ill-concealed resentment toward José is less indicative of personal animosity than of hostility toward his family and the mission, which José is considered to represent. Mission policy is obviously to recognize as chiefs persons of some prestige who are friendly toward the priests and Christianity and who can be depended upon to make known the priests' wishes and urge acceptance of them. As for José, this policy entails favoritism toward him and his family, which his sons and sons-in-law and their wives reciprocate by currying favor with the priests and bearing stories of the peccadilloes of the villagers. The people are well aware of José's status as an instrument of the mission and, for this reason, do not recognize him as a true chief. This hostility toward José and his followers causes, in part, the factionalism to be discussed later.

The priests, despite their policy of recognizing certain men as chiefs, generally bypass them and deal with the people individually in matters of trade, religion, and family. The net result is to relieve a source of potential conflict by making it unnecessary for the chief to intervene on behalf of the mission in individual cases, as opposed to general support of mission policy. But the importance of the chieftaincy in its role as intermediary with the mission, which is its only function, is thereby diminished. In passing, it should be noted that in some upstream villages, where mission influence is weaker than in Missão Velha, there are no formally recognized chiefs.

Shamanism is the only element of the native religion that is still practiced on the Cururú. Although the Indians seek medical aid at the mission and the Indian post, this has not made serious inroads on the art of the shaman, for

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all Mundurucú still believe firmly in the supernatural causation of illness. Thus, the drugs of the white man are considered efficacious in the repair of the damage caused by the sorcerer's evil objects, but this in no way circumvents the necessity for the shaman to extract them. A corollary of the continued belief in native explanations of disease is the persistence of accusations of sorcery and the occasional killing of witches.

The only shaman in recent practice in Missão Velha was executed as a sorcerer in 1950. It is now necessary to call a shaman from another village or to bring the sick person to him. The lack of an actively practicing shaman has not prevented another case of sorcery from arising in the village, for the accused in this instance was a shaman by descent. The case will be described in some detail, for it illustrates how political factionalism, sorcery, and general disaffection have combined as fission elements in the loosely integrated Cururú River villages.

Several months before we stayed in Missão Velha, a great deal of illness caused the chief's son-in-law and sons to seek the services of Pedro, the most renowned of all Mundurucú shamans and a resident of the mission. Pedro, without the knowledge of the priests, of course, went to Missão Velha and performed the necessary acts to destroy all evil objects in the vicinity of the village. He then informed the others that the man responsible was one Antonio, a resident of Missão Velha whose father was a shaman, although he himself never practiced. The chief wanted no trouble and planned for a time to move away from the supposedly malignant Antonio, but the younger men of his family were determined to kill the sorcerer. Certain other men of the village, however, were not fully convinced of Antonio's guilt and opposed his condemnation. Their doubts were not a reflection of skepticism in

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supernatural belief, but arose from hostility to the chief's group, Antonio's most persistent persecutors. The fact that they would also doubt the accuracy and integrity of the most powerful shaman in the tribe is indicative of the intensity of this animosity. Some of the men opposed to the execution felt, on the other hand, that Antonio was in all probability guilty, but expressed revulsion at the idea of more bloodshed and would have rather preferred to let him depart in peace. In any event, no unanimous community action could be taken.

The split in the village was exactly along the lines of the two village political factions. Favoring the execution of Antonio were the chief, his two sons, his two sons-in-law, and the brother and brother-in-law of one son-in-law. The opposition consisted of the brother-in-law and former co-resident of a shaman killed at Missão Velha two years earlier, the brother-in-law and house mate of the accused Antonio, and a household whose men were related affinally to the chief's group. The position of the latter house in the dispute is of particular interest, for it included the brother-in-law, brother, and nephew of that son-in-law of the chief who was the moving spirit of the other faction. The people of this household had originally moved to Missão Velha to be near the latter kinsman.

The dilemma was finally resolved when the frightened Antonio decided to move completely out of the Mundurucú country to the relative safety of the Tapajós River. Those who defended him, however, were completely alienated from the village, and all had made plans to move. The man whose brother-in-law was killed two years ago was ready to settle permanently near his rubber avenue, the brother-in-law of the accused contemplated his departure, and the members of the third household wanted to move farther upstream. We left Missão Velha before the shifts

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occurred. If all the planned moves took place, however, the net loss to the village would be 36 out of 90 people, the residents of three of the ten occupied houses. As a footnote to this episode, Antonio fled shortly after our departure, but he made the fatal error of settling in a Mundurucú hamlet on the lower Cururú River. His reputation was, of course, widely known, and he was slain by his new fellow-villagers.

To our knowledge the dispute never flared into an open display of aggression. On a few occasions the accused man was seen to talk to one of the men who wished to kill him and, more rarely, there was mutual visiting. Hostility between Mundurucú is generally more open on the Cururú than in the savannahs, but violence is still suppressed. Here, too, the only escape valve consists in killing suspected sorcerers; otherwise, one may move away from the object of hostility. The latter is easily done in the socio-economic framework of the Cururú settlements, for interpersonal and interfamilial dependence is low, and individuals have correspondingly greater mobility than on the savannahs.

Although no personal violence attends these disputes, the facts of conflict and withdrawal are socially disruptive beyond their effects on village membership. In the above-described conflict, two brothers were ranged in opposite factions, because one had chosen to follow the stand in defense of the accused taken by the oldest member of his household. And the position of the latter placed him in conflict with one of his wife's brothers, who favored killing Antonio. An even more interesting split occurred in a household whose inhabitants were absent from the village during my research. The oldest man and head of the house wished to avoid strife by taking no action against the condemned man, but his son, who resided with the father, was

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578 a leader in the movement for execution. Although many of
754 these bonds were probably not permanently fractured by
756 the dispute, they were all certainly placed under strain. The fact that first-degree kinsmen, not to mention clan fellows, can become embroiled in internecine strife that can result in the withdrawal of one of the parties is indicative of the progressive weakening of kin bonds. The ethic of harmony and nonviolence that was associated with the traditional institutions of descent and residence continues to some extent on the Cururú River, but it does not prevent social disruption.

184 Another noteworthy contrast between Missão Velha and
571 the savannah villages is the lower level of social interaction in the former. It has been pointed out that the household,
[592] most often a nuclear family, is the basic economic unit of the Cururú River Mundurucú. The same applies to everyday social intercourse, for not only are the men's house and the all-village collective female labor of the savannah farinha shed absent, but visiting between houses is also less frequent. After the day's labors, the husband, wife, and children usually sit around their own fire to eat and talk, and afterward retire to their hammocks. Occasionally a
[574] neighbor and his family will visit briefly. Visiting is almost always done in groups with two or three families coming together at one time. The all-male or all-female gatherings of the savannahs which have for their respective nuclei the men's house and the farinha shed are absent.

DISINTEGRATION OF THE CURURÚ VILLAGES

182 The conflict over sorcery in Missão Velha is typical of the
578 schisms constantly arising in the Cururú villages and which account, in part, for the fact that the average village population is on the decline with a corresponding increase in the number of villages. In addition, many people are

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moving out of village life altogether to live in the relative isolation of their rubber avenues. Others have left the Cururú and are found near its mouth on the Tapajós. Not all fission arises from factional splits such as that described. Individual persons and nuclear families are always on the move from one village to another or to permanent residence in the rubber avenue because of unresolved interpersonal conflicts.

These disputes are frequently over women, who are scarce on the Cururú. It has been said that the savannah villages suffer from a shortage of men because of the slow but continuous emigration of the more mobile young males, which results in hostility and competition between the younger females. The opposite situation prevails on the Cururú. There, the young campineiro men who have drifted to the shores of the stream have upset the male-female ratio. The migration of young men from the savannahs to the Cururú has slowed up so much in recent years that the ratio between the sexes may readjust itself. At present, however, the men's excursions generally lead to the married women, and such liaisons cannot be long concealed in small villages. Extramarital sex relations are common in the savannahs also, but there are enough unmarried girls to make female adultery less frequent and competition over women less intense. Correspondingly, there are fewer cases of hostility between men in the savannahs caused by sex.

In addition to the effects of disputes over sorcery and sex, economic causes, such as the growing scarcity of land near the larger villages, are also responsible for social fission. When one's village house gets old it is often more convenient to take up permanent residence near the rubber avenue, especially if one produces sufficient rubber to buy the copper farinha-toasting pan.

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pet spirits are still sought, but there is common confusion about the exact meaning and role of the supernaturals. 182 794

The change in residence patterns must have had a great effect on the whole system of behavior expected between various categories of kinsmen. Lack of data makes it impossible to reconstruct the social system under patrilocality in any detail, but since the transformation surrounded each role player with a totally different array of complementary roles, one may infer that modifications occurred in nearly all aspects of social relations. It is known, however, that cross-cousin and sister's-daughter marriages were formerly preferred, although matrilocality has resulted in the absolute taboo of the latter union. The Mundurucú still express a verbal preference for the cross-cousin marriage, but the infrequency of its occurrence suggests that loss of lineages has robbed it of its primary function as a means of solidifying ties between kin groups. 182 591 602 [582]

One of the most interesting features of Mundurucú matrilocality is the inability of the resultant social system to accommodate the open expression of conflict. The previous situation in this regard is not known, but if anthropological findings among other patrilineal and patrilocal peoples can be extended to the Mundurucú, one might expect that conflict need not be disruptive and might actually contribute to the maintenance of the social system. Cross-cutting bonds based on residence and descent, the non-equivalence of kin and local groups, however, prevent the development of open factions, because factional conflict would entangle the individual in conflicting loyalties. Segments of the society are not able to gain internal solidarity and to define their boundaries through opposition to other segments, except by the destruction of other modes of group organization. This lack of what has been called internal "structural opposition" is partly responsible for the 182 578 591

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182 weak corporate character of descent and local groups. The
578 dispersal of male patrilineal kinsmen also attenuates and
591 weakens ties of relationship, and the men's house results in a rather marginal membership in the extended family. There is potential disruption through conflict of roles, but the loyalties imposed by the roles are somewhat weakened, and the danger to social integration accordingly mitigated.

182 The incongruity of descent and residence makes for a most unstable social system, and one may well ask how it persisted from the mid-nineteenth century to the present. In part, of course, it may be answered that persistence has not been perfect. The clans are becoming vestigial, and unilocal residence is now weakening. Moreover, increasing numbers of people are leaving the traditional savannah villages. But the fact remains that the Mundurucú still exist as a social entity after a period of contact that witnessed the virtual extinction or absorption of nearly all tribes of the region.

174 182 It might be argued that the weakness and instability of the patrilineal and matrilocal social structure was, paradoxically, a source of its strength during the contact period. The accumulated aggressions generated, and repressed, in the social system were released in the continued pursuit of the traditional institution of warfare. Lacking any strong modes of internal segmentation, social integration was obtained by the opposition of the entire tribe against the outside world. This outward direction of antagonism functioned to demarcate rigidly the boundaries of the social system, and to provide a framework of common endeavor. The cross-cutting ties of residence and descent were the basis of a highly developed sense of tribalism among the Mundurucú males and facilitated the recruitment of war parties from a number of villages. This martial disposition and effectiveness of the Mundurucú

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DEVIANCY AND SOCIAL CONTROL I: WHAT MAKES BIBOI RUN

Robert F. Murphy

I

Biboi, the young chief of the Mundurucú[1] village of Cabitutú, visited the village of Cabrua with great frequency. So frequently in fact that he once made the ten hour round-trip in one day. Inquiry revealed that Biboi was on the horns of a dilemma. Though he was chief of Cabitutú, he kept a young and pretty wife in the house of his father, the chief of Cabrua. Whenever he visited his wife, his "followers" in Cabitutú busied themselves in plotting against him. Hearing of these threats to his authority, he would immediately dash back to reassert his position of leadership. But as soon as he was out of sight of Cabrua, the men of that community sought to tarnish the virtue of his wife; this was not a difficult task, and half the men of the village ultimately enjoyed her favors. Their exploits were well publicized, and Biboi, hearing of his cuckoldry, would hurriedly retrace his steps. During most of the time we lived in Cabrua, Biboi gravitated between the two communities--to the great amusement and deep satisfaction of his fellow Mundurucú.

On the lowest level of explanation, I have already stated what makes Biboi run. But the key questions of why the men of Cabitutú plotted against him and why those of Cabrua pursued his wife can only be answered through an analysis of Mundurucú society and culture and of Biboi's position within it. For Biboi was a marginal man trying to play traditional social roles to which he had not been socialized, and he failed to define correctly the nature of the role expectations or the values that pertained to specific social situations. His cumulative blunders finally threatened the stability of this small society, and certain processes were set in motion to reëstablish the normal flow of social interaction. Anthropologically, this is a study in deviancy and social control. Humanistically, it is a tragedy but, like many tragedies, one that has overtones of comedy.

II

Biboi's personality was most deviant, and I shall spell this out in terms of his manifest behavior, as it compared with the normal behavior of Mundurucú men and their chiefs. I know nothing of the socialization of Biboi, only that at an early age he went to live in the household of a local Brazilian who traded in the village headed by Biboi's father. He came back to live among his people, but he was no longer a Mundurucú, any more than he was a Brazilian. When I first met Biboi, he addressed me in backwoods Portuguese and in a swaggering manner introduced himself as "Biboi, son of Caetano [the chief of Cabrua] and chief of Cabitutú." This contrasted markedly to the diffident and hesitating way in which most Mundurucú addressed me, and

114 each other. Though I was an outsider, I had at the time been several months
157 with the tribe and this departure from what I expected of a tribesman upset me considerably. Bibol turned out to be a great problem in other ways. He cited his own importance as a justification for the demands that he made on me for gifts. And he bragged continually of his ability to deal with whites, to lead his followers, to hunt, or to do almost anything in either the realm of traditional Mundurucu activity or in their relationships with the outside world.
554 He strove desperately and openly towards the acquisition of prestige and of
555 material goods, which he had accepted as indicators of prestige. For this reason our mosquito boots were admired greatly, as this would surely differentiate him from his barefoot Indian fellows—shortly after one of his visits, my wife discovered that her boots were missing. And we met no other Mundurucu so brash.
157 They felt free to enter our house at all times, but only Bibol would demand a cup of coffee and then lie in our hammocks; he was quite offended when we pointed out to him that his body paint was staining them. Bibol had other most unusual characteristics. He spoke freely and critically of other men to us and did this even in the presence of third parties. Nor did he bother to conceal his hostility and contempt when someone inimical to him was near. But underneath this façade, Bibol was a frightened and anxious man. He would often
158 confide to me darkly that "people are talking about me." Lest this be interpreted as paranoia in the clinical sense, I should stress that people were indeed talking about him, and Bibol had every reason to be anxious. Not only his ego but his very life was in danger.

III

157 Bibol's behavior grated against almost every single point of Mundurucú
183 expectations regarding how a chief should act and how men, in general, should behave. Mundurucu society is intensely egalitarian and based upon the principle of maintenance of solidarity among a group of males who are conceived [81] to be peers. It has a peculiar structure in that it is divided into patrilineal societies, which in turn are differentiated into a number of patrilineal [61] clans. But the normal mode of residence is matrilocal, and men generally move to the villages of their wives. This disperses the clans throughout all the villages, for a young man, when he marries, leaves the father from whom he obtains clan membership. It also produces a dualism of loyalties in which the man maintains a clan identity and, with it, defined role obligations and also acquires membership and roles in the village of his wife. This produces a classic form of organic solidarity, for the society is bound together by cross-cutting segments. But it is a very simple form of organic solidarity and an
578 extremely brittle one. Social cohesion must be vigorously maintained and
181 individual strivings muted, for alliances in cases of conflict cannot range along simple segmental lines. To support a fellow-clansman in a crisis may pit a person against his village mates and vice versa. In a society with a population of only 1,200, living in communities of 60 to 100 persons, such stresses are serious threats to social stability in any event; in one of the Mundurucu type they may be totally disruptive. The social system not only produces solidarity but requires it for maintenance.[2] Given the structure of Mundurucu society, the effective social actor was one who was cooperative, unaggressive, reserved, quiet, and willing to place the will of the collectivity
183 before his own. It may be immediately perceived that Bibol presented a threat to propriety and to the social system. He was belligerent, loud, self-centered and acquisitive—all the things that a Mundurucu should not be.

Like all people, the Mundurucú are, to an extent, prestige-seekers, but there are cultural differences in the coinage of status. The traditional culture placed no value upon material acquisitions, and, although this was slowly changing, Dibol's tastes were inordinate and clearly derived from his experience among the Brazilians. He thus violated a value standard and at the same time offended the entire community by self-consciously and openly trying to raise himself above his fellows.

Dibol not only misconstrued the ends of Mundurucú prestige but he also misunderstood the means for their attainment. The primary rule, and the one he most flagrantly violated, was that one should not seek prestige but let it come to him naturally. For example, bravery in war was highly valued but the posture of bravado was ridiculed. A coward was relegated to the lowest end of the status scale, but one who boasted of the damage he intended to inflict upon the enemy in the coming battle was ridiculed and placed in the vanguard of the attack. To attain prestige a man should be modest and unassuming, while observing all the traditional expectations of what constitutes valued behavior. But primarily, he should act always as if he had only the collective well-being and goals in mind. Dibol's braggadocio, individualism, and competitiveness had violated every rule of the game, and he won only dislike and contempt, rather than the esteem and power he wanted so badly.

Disturbing though all this was to the delicate adjustment of Mundurucú social structure and contrary though his behavior was to the values that bound this adjustment, Dibol had committed the cardinal error. He had allowed his grievances against certain individuals and groups to come out into the open and alignments emerged for and against him that cut across both village and clan-linked role commitments. Hostilities and latent factions are part of the tribal life of the Mundurucú, but they are carefully repressed--a requisite for the functioning of Mundurucú society. The average Mundurucú is well-trained in disguising aggression and in presenting the bland face of neutrality, but Dibol's own socialization was in part derived from Brazilians and was not adjusted to the functional needs of the Indian society. Like any cuckold, he had some cause to feel aggrieved. His error was in openly objecting to the offense against him, a normal course for a Brazilian cuckold but not for a Mundurucú victim.

IV

Dibol's alienation from Mundurucú society induced severe anxiety and intensified his quest for a favorable identity. He sought this through his role of chief of the village of Cabitutú. The contemporary Mundurucú chieftaincy must be understood as a boundary role. The dependency of the Indians on manufactured goods, obtained through the sale of wild rubber, has given the Brazilian traders a position of great influence among them, which they exercise through the chief. When the trader wants increased production he tells the chief, who then exhorts his followers to greater effort. Correspondingly, the chief acts as bargaining agent for the village in trade negotiations, and the people interpret his role to be in large part that of their representative to the outer world. If the trader is sufficiently well-established with a village, he can do much to influence the choice of a chief. But since he cannot completely counter the patrilineal rule of inheritance of

village men are ever-watchful and jealous of the chiefly family and would be quick to resist, however passively, what they considered to be high-handedness. Dibui, however, did not have the surrounding group of relatives that may have given even minimal support to his claim to leadership. Rather, he depended upon the trader and his father and relatives in Cabrua to buttress his position. 622 554

Given his delicate status, Dibui proceeded to worsen it through a misinterpretation of the chieftaincy. He had listened to his father's nostalgic tales of the role of the chief in times past, and one might say that he had some knowledge, in a purely cognitive sense, of the traditional culture. It is highly dubious, however, that Dibui had internalized sufficient culture to make him an effective actor within the system of social relationships. Dibui knew that "in the old days, chiefs were powerful men who directed their people and bought goods for them." This view of the past may or may not have been true, but it surely did not apply to the present. Dibui, nonetheless, announced at large that he was eminently qualified to be chief, as only he knew how to deal with the trader and only he had the force to tell the people how, when and where to work. I was a special recipient of this information, for Dibui found it most important to gain stature in the eyes of a prestigeful outsider. But Dibui also told all the others of his importance, and the people of Cabitutu stated that he indeed relayed the demands of the trader in forceful terms. His "followers" saw him solely as an agent of the trader in their village, and they were certain that his only function was to promote their exploitation and defraudment. Their analysis was correct, but I doubt that Dibui thought his role to be at all asocial. There is no evidence to substantiate this, for only he could tell us whether he was aware of the machinations of the trader, and he did not. But I believe that Dibui saw the trader as a father figure, many of whose values he had internalized and subscribed to as legitimate. And he also saw himself to be in the position of a strong and traditional leader. [557] [578]

Dibui had learned something else about the chiefs of times past, and this was the fact that many were polygynous. Polygyny was possible only for chiefs, for the matrilocality that applied to most of the population made it most difficult to have plural wives unless they were sisters. Even for a chief, however, polygyny was a difficult and stormy relationship, and it was evidently never of very great frequency.

Dibui did not have the implicit and unconscious ability to understand the fine points of Munduruc social structure that a man raised in a village would have, and he made some of his most serious blunders in marriage. Soon after assuming the chieftaincy of Cabitutu, he married a woman of the village, a widow several years older than himself who, through the situational variability of post-marital residence, had a strong nucleus of kin in the village. Though I have no data upon which to make a firmer statement, it is quite probable that he married the woman--frankly a crone--in order to enlist the sympathies of her relatives. But Dibui was a young, handsome and virile man, and he subsequently sought a wife more to his liking. He located a pretty girl of about sixteen years in the village of Deondyem and brought her home to Cabitutu. This enraged the first wife, who berated Dibui, assaulted the girl and complained to her brothers. The latter expressed their disapproval of the polygynous union to Dibui, and the rest of the village supported them. Dibui's general behavior and his exercise of his "chieftaincy" had already outraged them, and this [558] 575 578

offense against his first wife, a native daughter of the village, was beyond their endurance. Biboi refused to divorce the new wife, to whom he was greatly attached, but took her to Cabruá where he left her in the care of his father. He validated his polygyny by pointing to the tradition that this was a prerogative of chiefs.

V

This brings us through most of the key features of Mundurucú culture and social structure and to the point at which this paper began. And since this is in essence a tragic tale, we will see in this final section how the ring must inevitably close on Biboi. He had offended all the Mundurucú canons of taste and ethics and had become a source of strain in this small and tightly knit society. Now the forces of social control became operative and he felt the heavy pressure of his fellow men.

Having left his pretty bride in the safe confines of his father's house, Biboi returned to Cabitutu to set matters right and quiet the discontent. But he continued in his arrogant and demanding ways and the sentiments of the villagers became further inflamed, with no small assistance from his first wife and her family. There grew among them a firm determination to kill him, and the intention might have been immediately carried out were it not for his ties in Cabruá. This was an important collective decision by the residents of Cabitutu, for his execution would set off a train of repercussions that would seriously disrupt their relations with Cabruá and with the trader. Moreover, Biboi did not have shamanistic power and the usual post-hoc explanation for the killing of a deviant--that he was a perpetrator of black magic--could not be used in his case. But his continued presence was even more disruptive, and Biboi's life was placed in serious jeopardy.

In the meantime, the person of the young wife was not as secure as Biboi thought it would be. Her husband was away and she was a rather wayward girl; whatever rectitude she possessed was certainly no match for the insistent attempts upon her body by the men of Cabruá. Soon, all of the men of the village except those prohibited by incest regulations--and there were some exceptions even to this--were enjoying the favors of Biboi's young wife in the underbrush surrounding the village, at the stream, in the forest, in the gardens, or wherever they might find her alone. The enthusiasm of the men was understandable from her physical attractiveness, but there was another component to their attentions. Whenever they related their exploits to me, the men would express great satisfaction at what they were doing to Biboi, for the Cabruá men, too, disliked Biboi with some intensity. Even in his father's village his presence threatened the smooth tenor of social relations, and he was considered unbearably deviant. But physical sanctions against Biboi would have been impossible in the village in which his father was a chief, and the men of Cabruá attacked his manhood instead. There could be no doubt about the aggressive character of their seductions, nor of its success in dealing a mortal blow to Biboi's prestige by reducing him to a helpless butt of laughter.

Biboi soon heard of the events in Cabruá from members of his family and immediately returned. He made frontal accusations against many of the men and even mentioned my Brazilian assistant (probably correctly) as being among those

who had cuckolded him. The village reacted to his charges ambivalently. They were highly amused at his discomfiture and humiliation, but they were seriously concerned about the open accusations and threats of violent reprisal. Not only was this a breach of fundamental rules of deportment, but if violence were to break out the social system would be seriously threatened. The village soon became ranged on two sides. Bibel's family supported him, but the majority of the population were ranged solidly against him. Thus, the threat of conflict had spread from Cabitutú to Cabruá. And Bibel ran back and forth between Cabitutú, where they plotted against his life, and Cabruá, where they took more covert measures against him through his wife.

The balance of power and of moral correctness lay with Bibel's opponents, and the task of his supporters was made most difficult by virtue of the fact that Bibel had almost ceased to be a social person--the rules no longer applied to him. We left the field before the curtain fell on our little drama, but one could already predict the conclusion. This was seen most clearly when, shortly before our departure, Caetano fell from a palm tree and lay seriously injured for several days. Knowing that the people of Cabitutú would kill him as soon as they were assured of his father's death, Bibel came immediately to Cabruá and remained there until the old man's recovery was certain. During this period, Bibel approached me and said, "You know, if my father dies, I will leave this land and go to live on the banks of the Tapajós River." I asked him why, and, in fine Bibel style, he answered, "Because it is so beautiful there." Bibel knew that his life as a Mundurucu was finished.

NOTES

(1) Mundurucú Indians are a Tupian-speaking people of the upper Tapajós River in the state of Pará, Brazil. My wife and I carried out a one year fieldwork program there in 1952-53 with the support of the William Bayard Cutting Traveling Fellowship granted by Columbia University, and a Research Training Fellowship of the Social Science Research Council.

(2) A more complete description and analysis of the relation between Mundurucú social structure and the positive evaluation of male solidarity has already been published in an article entitled "Intergroup Hostility and Social Cohesion" (American Anthropologist 59:1018-35, 1957).

(3) I have discussed the general structure of authority and its relation to Brazilian society in detail in my book, Headhunter's Heritage (Berkeley, 1960).